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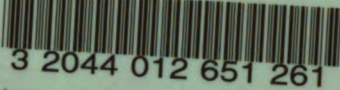
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Massachusetts Historical Society.

ERRATUM.

Page 459, line 3, for "John" read "James."

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

a

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

VI

1862-1863.



BOSTON:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXIII.

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Page 450, line 2, for "John" read "James."

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Page 450, line 8, for "John" read "James."

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

a

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OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

77

1862-1863.



BOSTON:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

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BOSTON:

PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON AND SON,

5, WATER STREET.

3-18-19

PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS volume contains the Proceedings of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, — with the exception of such as relate to its private business, — from the Annual Meeting in April, 1862, to the Annual Meeting in April, 1863.

For the Portraits which accompany the Memoirs of Hon. DANIEL APPLETON WHITE and Hon. WILLIAM APPLETON, the Society is indebted to the respective families of those highly esteemed members. The whole expense of printing the Memoir of Mr. Appleton was also defrayed by his family.

The strictly historical portion of this volume is published at the charge of the "Appleton Fund," to the munificent donor of which it is gratefully credited.

C. R.,

For the Committee of Publication.

BOSTON, April 1, 1863.

Committee of Publication.

**CHANDLER ROBBINS.
SAMUEL K. LOTHROP.
GEORGE LIVERMORE.
HENRY A. WHITNEY.**

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ELECTED APRIL 10, 1862.

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Hon. NATHAN HALE, LL.D., a Resident Member, has died since the publication of the last volume of Proceedings, March 31, 1862.

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Rev. William G. Eliot, D.D.

M. Edme François Jomard and the Hon. James L. Petigru, LL.D., Honorary Members, have died since the publication of the last volume of Proceedings.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 10, 1862.

THE SOCIETY held its annual meeting this day, Thursday, April 10, at twelve o'clock, M.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the American Philosophical Society; the Essex Institute; the Young Men's Mercantile-Library Association of Cincinnati; Ebenezer Alden, M.D.; Mr. Edward Holden; Hon. Joseph Segar; Thomas Waterman, Esq.; and from Messrs. Bartlet, Bigelow (G. T.), Deane, Quint, Robbins (C.), Savage, Sibley, and Winthrop, of the Society.

After the reading of the records of the last meeting, the President remarked as follows:—

The period of our annual meeting having arrived, much of our time will be needed this morning for the formal Reports of the Standing Committee, the Librarian, and the Treasurer, and for the election of officers.

Before proceeding to other business, however, I must not omit to take official notice, in a very few words, of an event which has occurred since our last monthly meeting.

So many of our meetings during the past year have been saddened by the announcement of the numerous deaths which have occurred among those associated with us, that we may

well have hoped to be spared for a time from such unwelcome interruptions of our ordinary course of proceedings. But it is not ours to control the dispensations of Providence; it is not ours "to stay Mortality's strong hand:" and we are called on, at this first meeting of our new year, to renew the accents of sorrow with which we closed the record of the year which is passed.

The Rev. Charles Mason, D.D., died at his residence in this city, at the age of forty-nine years, on Sunday morning, the 23d of March. He was the son of the late Hon. Jeremiah Mason, who is remembered by many of us as a venerated friend; who is remembered by us all as a statesman of no common distinction, as one of the giants of the law, and as a man of eminent wisdom, purity, and piety.

The wisdom, the purity, and the piety of the father found a filial expression in the character and career of the son. Graduated at Harvard University in 1832, and devoting himself at once to the study of divinity and the duties of the ministry, he was ever remarked for the quiet beauty of his life, and for his faithful allegiance to the "vocation wherewith he was called." He was a man of a humble spirit, of perfect simplicity of manners, and of the deepest religious convictions. His reading was extensive, his acquisitions were large and varied, and he had capacities for distinguishing himself as a scholar and a writer; but his heart was in his chosen calling, and his life was devoted to the cherished duties of his pastoral charge. Without attempting any thing of display as a preacher, he had learned his way to the hearts of those to whom he ministered; and he was respected and beloved by all who knew him.

During the few years of his connection with our Society, he had evinced a strong interest in its objects, and had made several interesting contributions to its library.

In accordance with our usages, and by authority of the Standing Committee, I submit the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society have learned with the deepest regret the death of our associate, the Rev. Charles Mason, D.D.; and that the Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody be requested to prepare the customary Memoir for our next volume of Proceedings.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Waterston in a few words of cordial tribute to his lamented friend, and was then unanimously adopted.

An admirable portrait of President John Adams was presented to the Society, accompanied by the following letter: —

PITTSFIELD, 7th April, 1862.

DEAR SIR, — I have the pleasure to send herewith a portrait of the venerable John Adams, the second President of the United States; which I respectfully request the Massachusetts Historical Society to do me the favor to accept.

It is a copy by my brother, Mr. G. Stuart Newton, of the original by Mr. Gilbert Stuart.

The coloring, for which both the artists are so highly distinguished, has been well preserved in the copy; and due allowance will be made for any defects in the execution of the work in other respects, when it is understood that it was painted when the copyist was under twenty years of age.

The likeness is an admirable one, as all who have seen Mr. Adams will recognize.

With the highest respect for your institution, I remain, dear sir,
very truly yours,

EDWARD A. NEWTON.

Rev. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D., Sec. of Mass. Historical Society.

The following resolution was then unanimously adopted: —

Resolved, That the thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society be presented to the Hon. Edward A. Newton for the beautiful portrait of John Adams, by the late Gilbert Stuart Newton, which he has so kindly added to our gallery; and that the Society gladly welcomes it to its walls, both as an excellent likeness of an illustrious statesman, and as one of the earliest works of a most accomplished artist.

The following communication from a Committee of the Historic-Genealogical Society, relating to the naming of streets and towns, and suggesting that names should be oftener given of persons distinguished in the past history of our country, was read, and referred to the Standing Committee:—

BOSTON, March 24, 1862.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D., Pres. Mass. Hist. Society.

DEAR SIR,—I have been requested, by a vote of the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society, to call your attention, and that of the influential body over which you preside, to the subject of giving names to streets and towns. It has occurred to us, that it is in the power of those, who are interested in the persons and events by which our history has been distinguished, to make historic monuments of names. Especially it has seemed important to us, when many noble streets and avenues are to be added to Boston, that their names should be selected with some care. Is there any reason why these grand avenues should bear names which seem to have been selected by a committee of young ladies from a boarding-school, rather than such as would commemorate the great men and actions of our past history? It is true, that "Arlington" and "Berkeley" and "Marlborough" and "Newbury" are good-sounding words; and if a selection is to be made, in school-girl taste, from the British peerage, they are as well as any others. But what do they signify to us? Is it not possible for a suggestion to be made to the City Government which shall induce them to appoint a commission from among our scholars to select a list of historic names, to replace such euphonious but insignificant appellations as these?

Especially it has seemed to some of us to be a very desirable thing, that the principal avenue of the addition, now called "Commonwealth Avenue," should be named, instead, "Arbella Avenue," in honor of the noble Lady Arbella Johnson, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, and wife of Isaac Johnson, who left the luxuries of her English home to share with her husband the privations of this new country; and also in honor of the ship "Arbella," only second to the "Mayflower" in historic importance to us; which brought to Salem, June 12, 1630, Governor Winthrop and his assistants, and the char-

ter of the Massachusetts Colony. "Commonwealth Avenue" is, in itself, a good name; but it is an insignificant name, suggesting nothing. "Arbella Avenue" has the advantage not only of being agreeable in sound, but also full of historic significance.

When a new and large hotel was about to be erected in Philadelphia, on ground formerly belonging to the Penn Family, it was suggested to the proprietors to call it the "Penn Manor House,"—a name which would have distinguished it always: but they preferred (in very bad taste, as it seems to me) the commonplace title of "Continental Hotel;" which does not distinguish it at all.

Do you think, sir, that it would be impossible to give the names of John Winthrop, Harry Vane, John Cotton, Roger Williams, John Eliot, William Bradford, Anne Hutchinson, Cotton Mather, Jonathan Mayhew, and the like, to some of our avenues? It would seem necessary to give the whole name, in order to make it a historic memorial. It would sound a little strange at first, no doubt, to hear of Roger Williams Street, Harry Vane Street, John Cotton Street; but this strangeness would soon pass away. But, at all events, would it not be better to have "Bellingham Avenue," "Bradstreet Avenue," "Arbella Avenue," take the place of Berkeley, Arlington, &c.?

If these suggestions, sir, seem to you to have any importance, will you be so kind as to bring them to the notice of the Massachusetts Historical Society in the way you deem best?

I remain, on behalf of the Committee of the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society,

Yours with great respect,

JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

Mr. H. GRAY, Jun., presented several papers obtained by an officer of the United-States army in Virginia, at Harper's Ferry, and offered to the Society's acceptance by Robert M. Morse, jun., Esq. A question arose respecting the principle which should be adopted, during the present unhappy conflict, in relation to papers and documents, private and public, obtained by the soldiers in houses and offices in the States now in arms against

the Government of the United States. After discussion, the subject was referred to a Special Committee, consisting of Chief-Justice Bigelow, and Messrs. Clifford, Metcalf, Parker, and Brigham.

The Chairman of the Standing Committee, the Librarian, and the Treasurer, read Reports of their respective departments.

In the absence of the Cabinet-keeper at the seat of war, his Report was prepared by the Assistant Librarian, and read to the meeting.

These Reports were all accepted, and ordered to be placed on file, subject to the disposal of the Committee on publishing the Proceedings. They are here printed.

Annual Report of the Standing Committee.

The Standing Committee, in presenting their Annual Report, congratulate the Society, that notwithstanding the dreadful civil war in which our beloved country has been for the last year embroiled, yet their meetings have been held without interruption, and their labors have been attended with important results.

It is true, every day of this eventful year has brought with it a history which has produced the very natural effect of diminishing for a time our interest in the past,—a history which not only fills our hearts with sadness, and absorbs the attention of the country, but which has seemed almost equally to astonish and interest the nations of Europe.

Death, too, has stricken from our rolls the names of some of our most honored members. Hon. Nathan Appleton, General Sumner, Dr. Bell, Hon. William Appleton, President Felton, and Rev. Charles Mason, have followed each other in quick succession, and have received appropriate tributes from the President and members of the Society. The loss of such

illustrious men is most sadly felt by our Society, especially as the two or three preceding years brought with them the same sorrowful experience.

Eight Resident Members have been elected during the year. Several Honorary and Corresponding Members have also been elected. The Society now consists of ninety-six Resident Members.

The Committee have made the usual examination of the library, and find the condition of the same satisfactory. In this connection, the Standing Committee feel it their duty to refer to two pressing wants, each of which has been previously brought to the notice of the Society. First, the Society has no general fund for the purchase of books and other purposes. This is a most serious deprivation, and calls for immediate and earnest attention. It is certainly somewhat mortifying, that an Association so important, possessing a library so valuable, should be destitute of the means to supply a deficiency of this sort. It is therefore recommended that a Special Committee be appointed with reference to this subject. In the second place, the attention of the Society is directed to the want of shelf-room for books. This is a matter which ought to be no longer neglected.

The Cabinet-keeper is serving his country as Surgeon of the Twenty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment at the seat of war, and may be heard from in words of gratitude sent to their friends at home by our sick and wounded soldiers.

The Standing Committee regret that they have been unable to take any steps toward *restoring* the very valuable portraits in the upper room, and refitting that apartment as a portrait-gallery and cabinet. This has been previously urged. It has been with great propriety suggested, that these old portraits are fast going to decay, and some of the most valuable will be past restoring; that a most interesting and attractive feature would be the arrangement of these portraits, carefully restored, with other objects of interest be-

longing to the cabinet, in the room above; that this would be an inducement to present, or deposit for safe keeping, other valuable portraits and objects of historical value; and that, in time, the Society would derive the highest satisfaction from this source. This is doubtless true; and it is therefore recommended to appoint a Special Committee to attend to this matter.

It was urged by this Committee, in the early part of the year, that a Special Committee be appointed to collect and receive authentic matter relating to the present civil war, with the view of, in some measure, aiding the future historian in his weary task of unravelling truth from fiction, and of providing for ourselves and our successors valuable material which would otherwise be lost. The Committee sent a circular to the various Resident and Corresponding Members, and to others, stating their design, and requesting desirable material, — a most useful undertaking. It is hoped the efforts of this Special Committee will be continued.

The year has been marked by the appearance of a new volume of Collections, being volume five of the Fourth Series, and comprising the "Hinckley Papers" and the last part of Niles's "History of the Indian and French Wars," published at the charge of the Appleton Fund; and also by a new and very attractive volume of Proceedings, which makes its first appearance in the library to-day.

It is hoped that the members will feel it not only a duty but a privilege to purchase these and other volumes published by the Society, and thus very materially assist their treasury; as well as, in a measure, manifest their appreciation of the severe and faithful labors of the Committees having charge of these publications.

There are now on hand thirty complete sets of Collections, three thousand five hundred and ten volumes of various numbers of the several series, and one hundred and eleven bound volumes of Proceedings.

The experiment of holding meetings in the evening, instead of at the usual hour of noon, on the stated days, has been tried during the last three months, but has not been attended with the success which was anticipated by those who advocated the change.

For the Standing Committee.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

Annual Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society presents the following statement of its financial condition:—

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL, 1862.

DEBITS.

Balance due Treasurer	\$435.51
Interest to Suffolk Savings Bank	1,526.50
George Arnold's Salary	549.96
Sundries	347.42
Insurance	187.50
Boston Taxes	178.20
Printing and Binding	124.65
Historical Trust Fund	120.00
Balance of Catalogue Fund	580.10
Suffolk Savings Institution, paid on Society's Note	2,200.00
Balance	126.62
	<u>\$6,376.46</u>

CREDITS.

Rent of Suffolk Savings Institution	\$2,200.00
Income of Dowse Fund	600.00
Assessments	460.00
Admission Fees	80.00
Sales of Society's Publications	512.22
Tax of Suffolk Savings Bank	178.20
Copyright on Sales of "Life of John Quincy Adams"	15.60
Sundries44
Dividend on one Share of Massachusetts Cotton Mills	80.00
Legacy of Nathaniel I. Bowditch, in part	200.00
Legacy of Miss Mary P. Townsend	2,000.00
Hon. James Savage, Subscription	50.00
	<u>\$6,376.46</u>

THE APPLETON FUND.

This fund consists of ten thousand dollars, which was presented Nov. 18, 1854, to the Society, by the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, on the condition that its income shall be applied to the purchase, preservation, and publication of historical material. Volumes three, four, and five of the Fourth Series of the Society's Collections were printed from this fund. It is vested, as it was received from the executors, in the stocks named below.

Account ending April, 1862.

DEBITS.

John Appleton, Services, as per Bills rendered	\$699.96
Edward Holden, copying	572.25
John Wilson and Son, printing Fifth Volume of Fourth Series Collections	678.58
Benjamin Bradley, binding	56.00
Copying for press	6.70
E. A. Tong, copying	19.50
Balance	935.62
	<u>\$2,968.61</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of the Account of 1859	\$2,188.61
Dividends on 2 Shares of Amoskeag Company	160.00
" " 2 " " Stark "	180.00
" " 1 Share " Appleton "	100.00
" " 1 " " Hamilton "	60.00
" " 1 " " Merrimack "	60.00
" " 1 " " Massachusetts Cotton Mills	80.00
" " 1 " " Suffolk Company	70.00
" " 1 " " Manchester Print Works	70.00
	<u>\$2,968.61</u>

The sixth volume of the Fourth Series of the Collections is now going through the press; and the expense of this will require the whole of this balance.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND.

This fund consists of two thousand dollars, presented to the Society, Oct. 15, 1855, by Hon. David Sears; the annual income of which may be expended in certain specified objects, as the Society may, by special vote, direct.

Account to April, 1862.

DEBITS.

Balance in the Treasurer's hands.	\$270.57
	<u>\$270.57</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of Account of 1861	\$150.57
Income to March 1, 1862	120.00
	<u>\$270.57</u>

THE DOWSE FUND.

This fund, of ten thousand dollars, was presented to the Society, April, 1857, by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse; and it is invested in a note signed by Edward Hyde and O. W. Watriss, secured by mortgage on real estate. The income (six hundred dollars) is used for heating the library-room, insurance on the library, and a portion of the salary of the Librarian.

PROPERTY OF THE SOCIETY.

The Estate on Tremont Street.—The Society purchased, March 6, 1833, of the Provident Institution for Savings, the second story, and one-half of the attic story, of this building, for \$6,500; and on the 13th of March, 1856, the remainder of the interest of this institution, for \$35,000. A portion of this was paid by subscription; and, for the remainder, the Society mortgaged the whole estate to the Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others, for \$27,500. Twenty-seven hundred dollars have been paid on this note; of which twenty-two hundred dollars were paid June 15, 1861. Two thousand dollars of this sum were received from the executors of the will of Miss Mary P. Townsend, and two hundred dollars from the executor of the will of the late Nathaniel I. Bowditch. The balance of the note is \$24,800. The lower floor is leased to this bank for fifteen years, from March 1, 1856, for \$2,200 per year.

One Share in the Massachusetts Cotton Mills.—This share, with two hundred dollars, was received May 24, 1861, in pay-

ment of the legacy of one thousand dollars bequeathed to the Society by their late member, Nathaniel I. Bowditch.

The Library, Paintings, and Cabinet.—The library consists of about nine thousand bound volumes and fifteen thousand pamphlets.

The Society's Publications.—These consist of the thirty-five volumes of the Collections, three volumes of Proceedings, and two volumes of the Catalogue,—over six thousand volumes,—which are for sale.

The Appleton Fund, of ten thousand dollars.

The Massachusetts Historical Trust-fund, of two thousand dollars.

The Dowse Library.—This library was presented to the Society by the late Thomas Dowse, and consists of about five thousand volumes.

The Dowse Fund, of ten thousand dollars.

The Copyright of the "Life of John Quincy Adams."—This was presented to the Society by Hon. Josiah Quincy. A new edition is on sale by Crosby and Nichols.

THE INCOME.

The income of the Society consists of an annual assessment, on each Resident Member, of five dollars, or, instead, the payment of sixty dollars; the admission-fee, of ten dollars, of new members; the rent of the lower floor of the Society's building; the income of the Dowse Fund, and of one share in Massachusetts Cotton Mills; the sales of the publications of the Society, and the sales of the "Life of John Quincy Adams."

There is no fund for the purchase of books. A permanent income for this object, that would enable the Society, from time to time, to purchase works on American history not in its library, would very largely add to its means of usefulness.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Treasurer.*

Boston, April 9, 1862.

Annual Report of the Librarian.

In compliance with the requirement of the By-laws of the Society, the Librarian presents the following statement, exhibiting the present condition and wants of the library, together with a notice of the most important accessions which have been made to it during the past year:—

The additions to the library, since the last Annual Report of the Librarian, have been from donations. These consist of one hundred and four volumes of printed books in good binding; two bound volumes of manuscripts; three volumes of newspapers unbound, and twenty-six single numbers; six maps; two plans of churches; thirteen bills of exchange (United-States Revolutionary loan); twelve hundred and seventy-six pamphlets; and forty-five broadsides. For these, the Society is chiefly indebted to its own members; although, in many instances, the gifts have proceeded from societies of a character kindred to our own, and from persons who have experienced the benefits of our institution, or sympathize with us in our efforts.

The library now contains (including the four thousand six hundred and fifty volumes in the Dowse Library) —

14,440	volumes of printed books, bound.
682	„ „ newspapers, „
507	„ „ manuscripts, „
making in all 15,629	„ „ bound books.

Besides the above fifteen thousand six hundred and twenty-nine bound volumes, there are belonging to the library four hundred and ninety-two pamphlet-cases filled with pamphlets carefully classified and catalogued, and about fifteen hundred other pamphlets catalogued and arranged alphabetically: but these last have not been classified, in consequence of not having proper cases for their preservation; yet they are accessible for use.

The books in the Dowse Library and those in the contiguous hall are systematically arranged, and their places are noted in an interleaved copy of the printed catalogue; so that all the volumes in these rooms are easily and expeditiously found when required. The pamphlets are also readily found, in consequence of the manner in which they have been arranged and catalogued.

The Librarian regrets that he is obliged to state, that, in consequence of the want of shelves, many of the volumes in the upper hall are not so easily accessible as they should be. A portion of the pamphlets are also in a similar condition; and those which have not been placed in cases require at least one hundred and fifty pamphlet-cases, in order that they may be thoroughly classified.

Many of the shelves in the upper hall continue to be loaded with the publications of the Society, notwithstanding the efforts which have been made by the Society at the frequent and earnest desire of the Standing Committee. These volumes are of too valuable and interesting a character to be occupying shelves that are so much needed for the arrangement of the volumes appertaining to the library. The early attention of the Society is respectfully asked towards remedying the defects of this portion of our apartments.

The library has done good service during the past year. The usual number of volumes has been lent to members and others. A list of the names of these last has been made out, and placed on file. The Librarian has the pleasure of stating, that by far the greatest use of the books has been in the Society's rooms; so that the loan-book can give no adequate idea of the extent to which the library has been useful. The volumes in the Dowse Library have been frequently consulted, with much satisfaction, by scholars. No book is known to have been lost during the past year.

The Librarian is gratified in stating, that persons engaged in historical writings have made frequent visits to the Soci-

ety's rooms, where they have made use of the valuable material to be found on our shelves and in our cabinets; and many, after availing themselves of the benefits which the library affords, have sent to the Society printed copies of their works.

The following are some of the most valuable book-donations to the library during the year:—

Vicentii Speculum Historiale, 1474. A bequest by N. I. Bowditch, Esq.

Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Expedition to the Isle of Rhé. By Richard S. Fay, Esq.

O'Callaghan's "List of Editions of the Bible printed in America, and Account of Early Editions of King James's Bible in Folio." By James Lenox, Esq.

Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, in twelve volumes. By the Society.

Three volumes of the Publications of the Camden Society. By Henry Stevens, Esq.

Letter from the Nobility, Barons, and Commons of Scotland, 1320. By Mrs. Balmanno.

Plymouth-Colony Records, vol. xii. By the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

New-York City during the American Revolution. By the Mercantile-Library Association of New York.

Everett's Address, and Holmes's Poem, at the Dinner given to Prince Napoleon. By Hon. E. Everett.

Harper's Weekly for the year 1861; and the New-York Illustrated News from September, 1861, to the present time. By the Publishers.

To these should be added the following manuscripts:—

Philip Besom's Narrative. By A. A. Lawrence, Esq.

Sewall's Funeral Oration on the Death of President Edward Holyoke, 1769. By Rev. F. H. Hedge, D.D.

Two volumes of Notes of Sermons. By Rev. C. Mason, D.D.

Two Sermons by Rev. James Wetmore. By James C. Wetmore, Esq.

Of the pamphlets, the largest donations have been received from Hon. R. C. Winthrop, LL.D., J. Langdon Sibley, Esq., S. A. Green, M.D., Hon. George T. Bigelow, LL.D., and Charles Deane, Esq., of the Society, and from the Chicago Historical Society.

As the Society does not possess a fund for the purchase of books, the additions to the library are necessarily obtained through the liberality of the members and other persons well disposed towards the Institution. There are, consequently, deficiencies in certain departments of the library, which should be remedied to make the library-room more perfectly a place for study for persons engaged in historical and antiquarian pursuits than it now is.

The attention of the Society is particularly called to the importance of continuing the collection of ephemeral material relating to the present unhappy condition of the country,—as the period of American history which is now enacting will be one of great interest to archæologists, and any thing connected therewith will be of much value to historical writers.

All the accessions to the library, both by title and the proper cross-references, have been entered in the interleaved catalogue kept for library purposes, and also in a supplementary manuscript catalogue, ready for printing when the occasion shall come.

In closing his Report, the Librarian congratulates the Society on the fact, that the time has arrived when every book and pamphlet in the library has become accessible; and that the hand can be put upon any volume, either printed or in manuscript, with the greatest ease and despatch.

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, *Librarian.*

Boston, 10 April, 1862.

Annual Report on the Cabinet.

In the absence of the Cabinet-keeper, I submit the following Report of the accessions to the cabinet during the last year, and of its present condition:—

The collection of portraits belonging to the Society has been enriched by the donation of a fine portrait, by Pratt, of Governor Thomas Pownall, from Lucius M. Sargent, Esq.; a portrait, by Harding, of Colonel Daniel Boone, the Kentucky pioneer, from Hon. George T. Bigelow; a portrait, by Gilbert Stuart Newton, of John Adams, President of the United States, from Hon. Edward A. Newton; and a portrait of the late Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., from Usher Parsons, M.D., who has also presented the sword worn by Sir William Pepperrell at the siege of Louisburg.

Numerous memorials of the present Rebellion have been received from various donors: among which may be noticed particularly the donation, from Major-General John A. Dix, of a Confederate and Maryland State flag, with several badges, cockades, and other articles taken from secessionists in Baltimore; a palmetto cockade and badge from Charleston, S.C., presented by J. H. Stevens, Esq.; and a collection of twenty-four lithographic maps, portraits, and other prints, illustrative of the present war, by John H. Bufford, Esq.

In the miscellaneous department, the lithographic views of the monument in commemoration of Columbus, and of the tomb of Lafayette, presented by Hon. R. C. Winthrop; a framed photograph of the ruins of the house of Colonel Benjamin Church, by B. Diman, Esq.; an Indian war-club and arrowhead, by Miss M. F. Thomas; two medals, by A. T. Goodman, Esq.; a pistol, formerly belonging to Paul Revere, by J. E. Adams, Esq.; ten specimens of Pennsylvania and Maryland paper currency, by W. S. Vaux, Esq.; and engraved portraits of I. Mather, Bradstreet, Stoughton, Dudley, &c., by Charles Deane, Esq.,—are worthy of notice.

The articles contained in the glass cases in the library have been newly arranged according to their connection with the Colonial or Revolutionary period of our history; a separate compartment being allotted to each of these divisions.

The condition of the portraits belonging to the Society is generally the same as at the last annual meeting; some of them requiring restoration by a skilful artist, in order to secure their preservation.

It may not be inappropriate, in this connection, to notice, that the fine portrait of a clergyman, hitherto "unknown," which has been in the collection of the Society for many years, and is supposed to be from the pencil of Sir Godfrey Kneller, has been identified as the portrait of the Rev. William Hayley, D.D., Dean of Chichester, who is mentioned by Wood, in his "Fasti Oxonienses," as of All-Souls' College, Oxon. A.B. Oct. 26, 1676; and who proceeded A.M. June 23, 1680. He was afterward chaplain to Sir William Trumbull, ambassador to Constantinople; and succeeded Rev. John Scott as Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields in 1695. He was also chaplain in ordinary to King William III.; and was installed Dean of Chichester, June 5, 1699. He married the daughter of Sir Thomas Mears; and died in London, Oct. 30, 1715. His successor in the deanery was Dr. Sherlock; who was followed by Rev. Thomas Hayley, D.D., the brother of William, and grandfather of William Hayley, the friend and biographer of Cowper.

The arms and crest on the portrait are those of Hayley (granted, according to Edmondson, in 1701), empaled with the armorial bearings of Mears.

Kennett, in a manuscript preserved in the British Museum, and quoted by Sir Egerton Brydges, says of Rev. William Hayley, that "he was a man of sharp and severe wit, and yet had the art of expressing it in a very soft and jocose manner." Dr. Hayley published a sermon before the Levant Company in 1687; a Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, 1695;

Sermons on Reformation of Manners, and at the funeral of Dr. Connor, 1699; one on Matt. xxv. 34-36, in 1700; Concio ad Synodum, 1701; and a sermon at the consecration of Bishop Evans in 1702.

JOHN APPLETON.

LIBRARY OF THE MASS. HIST. SOC.,
April 10, 1862.

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the Society for the ensuing year : —

President.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

JARED SPARKS, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

COL. THOMAS ASPINWALL BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D. BOSTON.

Corresponding Secretary.

JOSEPH WILLARD, Esq. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM. CHARLESTOWN.

Librarian.

NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Standing Committee.

REV. SAMUEL K. LOTHROP, D.D. BOSTON.

REV. ROBERT C. WATERSTON BOSTON.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN CAMBRIDGE.

THOMAS C. AMORY, JUN., Esq. BOSTON.

WILLIAM G. BROOKS, Esq. BOSTON.

Mr. SALTONSTALL, from the Nominating Committee, stated that the Hon. David Sears had positively declined re-election as a Vice-President: whereupon it was unanimously *voted*, That the thanks of the Society be tendered

to the Hon. David Sears for his valuable services in the office which he has this day resigned.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Saltonstall, and his retiring associates, Colonel Aspinwall and Mr. Warren, for their useful services as members of the Standing Committee.

MAY MEETING.

The Society held their stated monthly meeting this day, Thursday, May 8, at twelve o'clock, noon; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the Mercantile Library Association of New York; the Society of Antiquaries, London; the Trustees of the Peabody Institute; the Publishers of the Farmer and Gardener; Mr. William S. Appleton; Mr. Porter C. Bliss; J. B. Congdon, Esq.; D. P. Corey, Esq.; Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co.; John D. Long, Esq.; Mr. A. G. Remington; Moses H. Sargent, Esq.; B. P. Shaw, M.D.; Rev. M. P. Stickney; S. Urbino, Esq.; Nathaniel Willis, Esq.; and from Messrs. Bartlet, Deane, Gray (H., jun.), Green, Lathrop, Lincoln (S.), Metcalf, Robbins (C.), Sabine, Thomas, and Winthrop, of the Society.

A portrait of Captain Isaac Collins was presented in the name of Nathaniel Willis, Esq.; for which the thanks of the Society were voted to the venerable donor. The portrait bears the following inscription:—

“Portrait of Capt. Isaac Collins, naval officer in the Revolution, and pensioner of the United States till he died. Painted in the year 1790.”

An invitation was read by the President from a Committee of the town of Bernardston, Mass., addressed to the Society, requesting its presence by one or more delegates at the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of that town, on the 20th of August next.

Voted, That this Society acknowledge the courtesy of the Committee of Arrangements, and accept their invitation.

Voted, That the selection of delegates be referred to the Standing Committee; who appointed Hon. George T. Davis and Dr. J. G. Holland.

The President read the following letter addressed to him by J. C. Hooker, Esq., a lineal descendant of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, the first minister of Cambridge, N. E. : —

ROME, 6th April, 1860.

DEAR SIR, — I beg to send you a small engraving of an Indian from Virginia, engraved by the celebrated engraver Hollar in 1645.

I first saw it in the window of a print-shop in Rome; and was struck with the similarity of the head and neck ornaments to those worn by the Etruscans, now so much in fashion.

The portrait is undoubtedly of one of the first Indians that came to Europe from Virginia; and it would be interesting to find out of whom.

Should you know of any society in the United States making collections of articles pertaining to the early history of America, you can make a present of the engraving, providing you think it of enough interest.

I remain yours very truly,

J. CLINTON HOOKER.

HON. R. C. WINTHROP.

Agreeably to the permission contained in this letter, the President presented the engraving to the Society in the name of Mr. Hooker.

Mr. WARREN communicated a letter from William Durrant Cooper, Esq. (a Corresponding Member of this Society), containing a sketch of the early pedigree of William Hayley, D.D., Dean of Chichester, the original of the portrait in the Society's gallery, recently identified by the diligent research of Dr. Appleton, our Assistant-Librarian.

Mr. STURGIS, in fulfilment of a commission to which he was appointed by the Society in December, 1861, reported that he had conferred with the family of the late Samuel Yendell in regard to any memento of the voyage of the ship "Columbia," and had obtained a list of the officers and crew, and a bill from the owners of the ship to Mr. Yendell. Mr. Sturgis gave a brief account of the voyage of the ship, and the discovery of Columbia River.

JUNE MEETING.

The Society held a stated monthly meeting this day, Thursday, June 12, at twelve o'clock, m.; the President in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the State of Ohio; the City of Boston; the City of Roxbury; the American Antiquarian Society; the Essex Institute; the Maryland Historical Society; the Mercantile-Library

Association of Philadelphia; the New-Jersey Historical Society; the Sussex Archæological Society; the Vestry of Christ's Church, Longwood; the Publishers of the Farmer and Gardener; John Appleton, M.D.; Colonel Asa Barr; Hiram Barrus, Esq.; H. G. Dunnell, M.D.; J. M. Forbes, Esq.; Lewis F. Gallup, M.D.; Samuel W. Hodges, Esq.; B. P. Johnson, Esq.; James Lawrence, Esq.; S. Randal, Esq.; and from Messrs. Brigham, Green, Hale (E. E.), Parsons, Peabody, Robbins (C.), Shurtleff, Sibley, Webb, Wheatland, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President communicated a letter from James E. Harvey, Esq., U. S. Minister at Portugal, dated Lisbon, April 19, 1862; stating that he had forwarded to this Society a package of books for their library, committed to his care by Professor Latino Coelho, Secretary of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon.

Mr. LIVERMORE presented, on behalf of James Lawrence, Esq., a large and valuable donation of books, selected from the library of his father, our late honored associate, the Hon. Abbott Lawrence.

Voted, That special acknowledgments be returned through the President to James Lawrence, Esq., for this liberal and valuable gift.

Mr. AMORY, from the Standing Committee, to whom had been referred a communication from the Historic-Genealogical Society on the historic nomenclature of streets, read a report, which, after some remarks by Mr. R. Frothingham on Paige's Map of Boston in 1775 (not mentioned in the report), was accepted.

Mr. Amory's Report on the Names of Streets.

The communication of the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, on behalf of the Historic-Genealogical Society, upon the propriety of attaching names of historical interest to streets and public places, was referred, at the annual meeting, to the Standing Committee. They have given it the consideration which, in their estimation, it well deserves. They fully concur with the writer in the wisdom of encouraging, in all persons and public bodies who have any control over the nomenclature of our streets, the selection of names appropriate and significant, and especially such as are commemorative of historical personages and events. If disregard of these considerations in what is, in reality, of much permanent consequence, may not, by any effort of ours, be immediately corrected, by calling public attention to the subject, this selection may become hereafter less a matter of accident or of caprice, and the names associated with the abodes of our successive generations be more in accordance with the position, which they seem destined to occupy, as an intelligent and highly cultivated people.

Where education is universal, public opinion readily improves suggestions entitled to respect; and there are circumstances in the present ever-memorable epoch, which make those now offered particularly seasonable. A throng of new celebrities in the field and cabinet, numerous localities to be long distinguished for the patriotic devotion of our troops or for the important events of which they have been the theatre, are crowding into our annals. These events will not be easily forgotten. They will be recorded in eloquent narration; perpetuated in bronze and marble; kept ever fresh in story and song. But they cannot be presented too constantly to the mind, especially of the young. The horoscope of the future is connected with the past by bonds fixed and determinate, by mutual dependencies as inseparable as those

which harmonize the laws of nature. History is, as it were, the conscience of nations, teaching what is worthy of imitation, what ought to be avoided. And, would we secure the permanence of our present political system, no means, however secondary, should be neglected of impressing forcibly upon the minds of our people, as they grow up from childhood or come to us from abroad, the causes and consequences of our political experience, the character of those who have had any principal part in controlling political events. Amongst these influences, that now under consideration should not be overlooked.

If this reflection be entitled to weight, it is not the only reason why local names derived from historical incidents are appropriate, and have commended themselves to the practice of mankind. Our progenitors, whom arbitrary power or religious intolerance forced from their native land, strengthened associations — made by exile only the more precious — by attaching its familiar names to their new homes. A large proportion of all the towns and counties in Massachusetts — as indeed everywhere else, in a less degree, throughout New England — exhibit unmistakable evidence of the indulgence of this sentiment; nor is it peculiar to our own age or country. Archæologists have thus traced the progress of our race from its earliest abode in the East to its brilliant developments in the Grecian States, and along the Italian shores to where the fabled pillars enclosed the gates of ancient civilization. Throughout the British Islands, which, notwithstanding political separation and conflicting interests, we still regard with filial tenderness, are thus to be recognized, after nearly twenty centuries, the frequent footsteps of Roman conquest and colonization. If the natural features of the scenery, there as here, are generally distinguished by names originating in a more remote antiquity, the dwelling-place is as constantly found to perpetuate the lingering fondness of the settler for the home which he has left.

In wandering through the cities and villages of the Old World, our attention is continually attracted to names illustrative of interesting incidents. Personages famous in arts or arms become familiar in the designations of the streets and public edifices. The very maps of London and Paris teem with romance, and furnish inexhaustible themes for agreeable reminiscence. Who, that has revelled in the delightful pages of Elia, or realized, with Howitt, Dickens, or our own Irving, with Victor Hugo or Dumas, the vivid pictures they have drawn of celebrated localities, but must admit that some small portion of the charm is owing to the picturesque quaintness or striking appropriateness of their names, as well as to the venerable mould with which time has consecrated their memories? Centuries pass; generations come and disappear; habits, usages, all are changed: but as we loiter along thoroughfares bearing still the same appellations as when Chaucer, Shakspeare, or Milton, Bacon, Newton, or Johnson, passed through them on their daily avocations, or which are chronicled as the resort of Edward the Black Prince or Richard the Lion-hearted, these echoing corridors of time, with their traditionary lore, render us insensible, for a season, to much of the splendor which the present has to boast.

On the older continent are everywhere to be found monuments more substantial, if not more lasting, than the names they bear. Ancient edifices of taste and grandeur, carefully preserved, illustrate each successive historical period. We are a modern people. What few relics we possess of former times, in the form of public buildings, churches, or antiquated dwellings, we are sufficiently disposed to cherish. Long be it before the ruined church at Jamestown, the Hall of Independence, our own Cradle of Liberty, or the abodes of Washington or Hancock, perish from the earth! But our rapid strides in wealth and numbers, after a brief period, efface every vestige of preceding generations.

Amidst the mouldering sepulchres of Copp's Hill, the Christ-Church chimes may conjure up the ancient form of some early settler ; but, except a few dilapidated dwellings, nothing remains of the seventeenth century. The walls of the Province House, now occupied for a place of entertainment, date back to its close ; and the Town House at the head of State Street was rebuilt somewhat more than a century ago. The Old South, King's Chapel, and Brattle Street, possess a respectable antiquity ; but, for a place so old and so historical as Boston, it is a subject alike of surprise and of regret that so little is left that is venerable. It becomes of the more especial consequence, that, in the absence of these solid barriers against the ingulfing tide, we should leave behind us such marks as we may of our own existence, and that of those we honor. A simple and effective mode of preserving the memory of deeds or men is to call after them our geographical divisions, our hills and streams, and on a smaller scale, but brought even more nearly home to the daily gaze and ear, our city streets.

An examination of our own map in Boston very conclusively proves, that, without other suggestion than their own good taste, our people have ever been thoughtful of the claims of distinguished worth to be remembered. If the larger proportion of its rather more than a thousand streets and places, as might be reasonably expected, have received their appellations on other grounds, or from circumstances somewhat accidental, a goodly number yet remain which pay tribute to desert. Nearly two hundred, indeed, have been called after towns and other places. As many owe their names to families who have been long established amongst us, and are more or less extensively multiplied. Thirty at the least are indebted to our forest, or recall the distinguishing features of our orchards or gardens. The seasons ; — water, in its numerous forms of river, pond, and fountain ; — the dove and the linnet, the lark, the eagle, and the swan, and other members of the feathered

and animal creation,—afford pleasant associations with Nature, which is still farther exemplified in granite and marble, silver and gold, in emerald, coral, jasper, and pearl. Bread and milk, salt and corn, recall our dependence upon Providence for our comfort and nourishment; while most of the letters of the alphabet and of the primary numerals suggest the elements to which the human mind must ever owe its principal achievements. The social economy is represented by church and state, by school and court. Furnaces and founderies, commerce in its several branches, denote our activity in business; fleet and battery and castle, that we are not careless of what concerns our safety. We would gladly find more to remind us of the aborigines, who were our predecessors in the possession of the land: but Shawmut and Samoset are alone preserved; though a few others, names of streams and places, such as Merrimack, Saratoga, Oneida, Oswego, and Ontario, have been adopted for their present associations rather than for their Indian origin.

Hereditary dislike of arbitrary power may be plainly discernible in the choice of names affixed to some of our streets after the fall of the Stuarts. Orange, Ann, Marlborough, and Hanover, adopted near the beginning of the last century, when a revised list of the streets was prepared by authority, exhibit evidence of the prevailing loyalty to the Protestant constitutional government, then lately established; while the name of Union, attached to what was previously Conduit Street, commemorates the consolidation of Scotland with her sister kingdom. At that time, there were but about sixty streets, so called, in Boston; although the lanes and alleys, nearly as many in number, were often equally entitled to be so distinguished. For the first century, and far into the second, the more closely peopled part of the town was north of Milk Street, and east of the Common. Three lines of streets, running north from what is now Court Street, intersected by Cross and Clark Streets, with the mill-pond on one

side, the harbor on the other, and North Square in the centre, long constituted the principal part of the town. By the water, Ann, Fore, and Fish Streets formed the present North Street; Hanover, Middle, and North, what is now Hanover Street; and, more in the rear, Back or Salem Street ran to the burial-ground on Copp's Hill. The remainder of the little more than a thousand acres then constituting the peninsula was occupied chiefly by gardens and pastures, or left in marsh or meadow, as in the country villages still occasionally to be found at a distance from our busy seaboard.

After ample provision for all the component elements of a well-organized community, and other claims upon our consideration, there remains an illustrious roll of distinguished names of which we may well be proud. They have been attached, from time to time, as they have become known to fame, or betray the peculiar admiration in which they have been held by individuals, who have had control over their selection. East Boston, laid out in part by our late associate, General Sumner, is, as it were, a Westminster Abbey or Walhalla, wherein have been congregated monuments to personages of both continents, famous in arts or arms. In its poets' corner are found the names of Chaucer, Milton, Pope, Moore, and Wordsworth; of Edgeworth, Gifford, Swift, and Addison; while in a different portion of the island are commemorated the battles and generals of our Revolutionary era. Many other brilliant reputations in literature and science, or which are wedded by the gratitude of mankind to important discoveries and inventions, are found in other parts of the city. Franklin, Napier and Fulton, Wesley and Murray, Channing and Allston, Percival, Tennyson, Prescott, and Irving, are some of those most familiar.

Of British statesmen have been remembered Barré, Camden, Chatham, Grenville, Rockingham, Wilberforce, and Ashburton; while of our own patriots and public men, not otherwise enumerated, Gridley and Thacher, Hawley, Ham-

ilton, Livingston, Pinckney, Lowell, Dexter, Gorham, Minot, and Revere, and last, and perhaps the greatest of them all, Webster, mark the abodes of large numbers of our people. Of names connected with the University, we find Harvard, Chauncey, Hollis and Holden, Langdon, Willard, Kirkland, Quincy, and Everett. Among those who have given most liberally of their wealth to the public are Faneuil, Boylston, McLean, Lowell, Lawrence, and Townsend; whilst of those fairly entitled to be thus distinguished, but not yet so commemorated, are Bates and Appleton, Gore, Goodnow, and many more who have like claims to be kept in recollection.

Of the fifty-four signers of the Declaration of Independence, the names of twenty are perpetuated on our city map. All our Presidents, as well as such of the Vice-Presidents as have risen to the supreme direction of national affairs, are so remembered, except Van Buren, Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan. Of our colonial and provincial governors, thirty names in all, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Prince, Winthrop, Endicott, Leverett, Taler, Belcher, and Phips are alone thus honored. Of the chief magistrates since the adoption of the State Constitution, thirteen out of nineteen have their names attached to streets or places, and eleven out of our fifteen mayors. We have of celebrities connected with the earlier annals of Boston, Blackstone and Maverick; of persons who have been of note in later times and connected with our local history, Bulfinch, Scollay, Sigourney, and Cotting. We find, moreover, thus commemorated, a large proportion of all who have gained reputation as commanders in our army and navy, as also of the battles which have been most important in our history.

In former days, some of these streets bore other names, which should not be too readily forgotten. The northerly end of what is now Congress Street was laid out through the garden of the father of Governor Leverett, one of the most energetic of our early governors; and long bore his name.

His daughter married Dr. Elisha Cooke, who took a distinguished part in defence of the Colonial Charter. Their son, of the same name as his father, as strenuously, half a century later, opposed the encroachments of the Crown upon popular liberties. What is now Chapman Place took its original name of Cooke's Court from their occupation and ownership of the adjacent estate towards the east. The younger Cooke married the daughter of Richard Middlecot, an eminent merchant, whose grounds extended up the northerly slope of Beacon Hill. Through this property was opened what was long Middlecot Street, now a portion of Bowdoin. Pearl Street, when first laid out in 1782, was called Hutchinson, from Eliakim, the kinsman of the historian.

It will be observed that we have been reasonably mindful of historical associations in the nomenclature of our streets. We trust this will continue to be a paramount consideration when new streets are to be named, or those of old ones to be changed. Within a twelvemonth, the name of West Centre Street has been altered to that of Anderson, out of compliment to the heroic defender of Sumter. But we doubt the policy of frequent changes in street-names: it leads to confusion on the records, and other embarrassments. A list of the city streets, with their successive appellations, has been prepared, and will soon, we hope, be in print, which will show the full extent to which this has been carried in former days. It is a subject for great regret that names such as Buttolph,—the patron saint of Boston in Old England, as well as the patronymic of a family long established here,—and many more, some of which have been already mentioned,—should have been abandoned; but there are designations which might be improved without any such objection.

In cities of great magnitude much resorted to by strangers, and in all, in the early period of their growth, where laid out upon a plan, letters or numerals may be convenient to denote relative position. But this facility for ascertaining, as it were,

the latitude and longitude of any particular point, is of less object after the neighborhood has been built up, and especially where few have occasion to visit it who are not inhabitants. When the order of streets has become sufficiently familiar to require no further aid from alphabet or numbers, were the choice quite free from any pre-existing bias, all would probably prefer to have their dwellings upon streets bearing names more significant. A judicious selection, uniting euphony with agreeable and especially historical associations, would tend, among other things, to render the place more attractive, and consequently to enhance the value of the property. There are at South Boston nearly twenty streets which might derive an advantage from a change in this respect. The proprietors are, however, to be consulted; they have a vested interest in what time has sanctioned; and, unless three-fourths or four-fifths of the abutters requested it, the municipal authorities would be hardly justified in exercising the powers which by law are lodged with them.

Besides our streets, the costly and spacious edifices erected for the purposes of public instruction furnish appropriate monuments to the great and good. We have been long accustomed to dedicate to this use our grammar-schools. The primaries now designated by their localities (with the single exception of that on Sheafe Street, called after Joseph W. Ingraham, for his valuable services in the Primary-school Board) might well be made to pay tribute to any of our fellow-citizens whose public career or benefactions are entitled to acknowledgment. Of our twenty large grammar-schools, the Phillips, Quincy, Wells, Lyman, Chapman, Brimmer, Bigelow, and Lincoln bear the names of former mayors. That of Otis was attached to one formerly established on Lancaster Street; and that of Smith, from Abiel Smith, who left a fund to the city for the education of colored children, to one on Joy Street. Neither of these two last-mentioned buildings are longer in use for their original purpose, although

the latter still is occupied for intermediate classes. The Mayhew School was so named for one of the earliest apostles of Liberty on this continent; the Dwight and Lawrence, for eminent contributors to the cause of education. Bowditch, Bowdoin, Everett, Franklin, Hancock, and Winthrop, are indissolubly connected with memories as perennial as civilization. A school-building that stood on the site of the Winthrop was called the Johnson, after the husband of the Lady Arbella, in whose honor the City Hall was, when first erected, denominated Johnson Hall; and one on Cooper Street, now used for an armory, was in former days known as the Endicott.

For the mass of men, these are still but names. To the historical student, they serve to recall the eminent characters who have given them distinction. There will always be enough to cherish the memory of such as have been permitted in their day and generation to be of service to society. Their public career, the events of their private and social life, their form and features, happily transmitted on the canvas of Smibert and Johnson, of Copley and Stuart, are familiar as if they were still present amongst us. For their descendants, their virtues and usefulness offer illustrious examples for emulation, and are an ever-flowing source of pride and satisfaction. The public at large recognize that one most important element of their own dignity and consequence as a community consists in the renown of these ancient worthies.

If more regard might have been paid by the first inhabitants to the width and directness of their public highways, there are reasons sufficiently obvious why this was hardly to be expected. The property in the lands, vested by patent in the colony, was, from time to time, transferred by the acts or orders of the Legislature to the several towns, in frequent instances, on the condition that settlements should be made, or a minister supported. The selectmen deputed to manage town-affairs made grants by vote to the freemen as claims were presented. Great latitude was allowed for individual

selection. Building-lots were located for their proximity to friends or relations, to springs of water, or from other similar considerations; and the travelled road was determined by the convenience of the immediate neighborhood. In 1639, an act of the Legislature required record to be made of "all men's houses and lands;" and the Book of Possessions, or our Domesday Book, was in consequence prepared. The phraseology generally used in this ancient record for distinguishing the several highways and byways, on which the grants were bounded, indicate how little attention had been paid to the laying-out of streets.

It is somewhat remarkable that no map of Boston, either engraved or in manuscript, more ancient than that of Captain John Bonner, of 1722, is known to exist. Diligent search has been made at the State House, City Hall, Registry of Deeds, and in the archives of the Society, and inquiry amongst those most likely to be informed, but without success. The map of Bonner was reprinted, probably from the same plate, in 1733, 1743, and 1769; and re-engraved, under the superintendence of Mr. Stephen P. Fuller, from the copy of 1722, in 1835. A copy of this reprint is now added to our archives, with the successive changes from 1722 to 1769 delineated in red, blue, and green. Quite recently, a complete index has been prepared by Mr. Lincoln, with an average of six cross-references each of the more than six thousand plans of different portions of the city which from time to time, in single estates or extensive tracts, have been recorded or deposited in copy or original in the Registry. Were a plan of the town made up from the descriptions in the Book of Possessions, it would be curious as an historical relic, as also useful in the examination of titles. We believe, that, at a future day, the preparation of a complete index to the first two hundred volumes of the Registry, uniform with that from 1800 to 1854, would be an expense justified by the importance of the work; and the printing of our town-records, or the earlier volumes, as often recom-

mended by our antiquarians, if at some more auspicious period it should be accomplished, will throw much light upon the antiquities of Boston.

We call the attention of the Society to the following letter of Mr. Smith, which, in connection with the list attached, prepared by our associate Dr. Shurtleff, seems to us to embrace in full the history of the maps of Boston :—

BOSTON, June 10, 1862.

DEAR SIR,—The earliest engraved plan of the city is undoubtedly that published by Captain John Bonner in 1722, and of which at least two editions were subsequently published by others. There is, I believe, but one copy of the original in existence; and that was preserved evidently by having been pasted upon a board, thus escaping the usual fate of such old documents; viz., being torn up for waste paper. It had been for some years in the possession of the late Mr. William Taylor, surveyor; and probably remains yet in his family. When it was brought to me in 1835, the paper had nearly all absolutely rotted away, so that the ink of the lines stood out in relief on its surface.

A survey made in the latter part of the last century by Osgood Carleton is the first of which we have any positive knowledge. I have an impression that it was engraved upon nearly the same scale as the present City Map, though comprehending only the city proper; as neither South Boston nor East Boston were then thought of.

There is in the office of the Overseers of the Poor a Directory for 1809, with a plan, which, as it does not seem to be from Bonner's, must, I think, have been from Carleton's, and engraved by Mr. Joseph Callender; which seems to have been used with various alterations and improvements till 1826, when a new one, engraved evidently by Mr. Hazen Morse, takes its place. This was probably copied from my plate hereafter spoken of. In the Directory for 1838, a new map appears, engraved by Morse & Tuttle: not from a new survey, however; for there had been none. Since that time, others have been engraved for that work, but none of them from new surveys.

John G. Hales made a new survey of the city about 1811. His drawing laid down every house, designating whether of brick or stone or of wood. This was engraved about that time by Mr. Thomas Wightman. Only one edition, if I remember right, was published; as

it was found that the corrections required by the changes in buildings would be so troublesome, that the probable demand would not warrant the expense. A large drawing by Mr. Hales, purporting to be from an original survey, is in the public archives at the State House ; but its date I do not know. It has never been engraved.

In the year 1823-4, I, with my then partner, the late Mr. William B. Annin, engraved, from a survey by Mr. Hales, a map of the city, which is still in use. We published an edition at the time : but the sale was slow ; and, so far as I recollect, there was no other till the plate came into my hands in 1837. Since that time, a carefully revised edition has been issued about every three years, — the last in 1859 or 1860, I think ; since when, illness has prevented me, as yet, from preparing another.

About 1836, Mr. George Boynton engraved a plan of the city, I believe, from a drawing by the late Alonzo Lewis, of Lynn. This plate he afterwards sold ; but it has never been published. It shows the city proper, with South Boston and East Boston in their correct relative positions ; and, although the scale is necessarily small, makes a rather large plate. Mr. Boynton also engraved, about 1845, another drawing of Mr. Lewis's, on the same plan, but smaller ; which is now the property of Mr. Dutton, bookseller, in Washington Street.

I believe, sir, that I have now enumerated every plan of the city ever engraved, except small ones intended for special purposes ; and, in connection with the subject, allow me to say, that in my opinion, if the city could be induced to order the engraving of South Boston and East Boston, so that impressions might be transferred to stone, placing those portions of the city in their correct position as regards the city proper, a map might be thus formed of great utility for city purposes certainly, though perhaps rather too large for general ones.

May I ask the favor, that you will present to the Historical Society, in my name, the accompanying copies of my map (last edition), also a copy of Bonner's Map, and the original drawing of the modern map by Mr. John G. Hales ? I am sorry to say that a set of copies of all my editions, which I had reserved for the Society, has been mislaid in some inexplicable way : but I cannot believe it has been destroyed ; and, should I have the good fortune to recover it, will send it to you at once. Among the articles to be presented is a set of my views of Beacon Hill in its original state, and when its crest was in process of removal. — I remain very respectfully your obedient servant,

GEO. G. SMITH.

THOMAS C. AMORY, Jun., Esq.

The following list of the maps of Boston, comprising such as have come to the writer's knowledge and observation, is supposed to comprehend all of any value that have been printed:—

Bonner's Map: Drawn by Captain John Bonner, and engraved and printed by Francis Dewing; first issued by Captain John Bonner and William Price in 1722, and afterwards published by Price, with additions and emendations, in 1733, 1743, and 1769, and possibly in other years, as the date of the map was sometimes put upon it with writing-ink. The size of the plate is about 2 feet by $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches. An original impression from the plate of 1722 is preserved in the archives of the Historical Society; a copy of which was made in 1835 by Stephen P. Fuller, and engraved and published by George G. Smith. The same map was reduced somewhat more than one-half, about the time of its first publication, by Captain Cyprian Southack, a noted maker of charts about 1720–1725; and published in London by I. Mount, T. Page, and W. Mount (size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 inches). Abel Bowen also reduced it to a smaller scale ($6\frac{1}{4}$ by 4 inches), in 1825, for Snow's History of Boston; and George W. Boynton engraved it again, in 1852, on a plate measuring 10 by 6 inches, for the Boston Almanac.

Burgiss's Map: Engraved by Thomas Johnson in Boston, and dedicated to Governor William Burnett in 1728 by William Burgiss. Size, $14\frac{1}{2}$ by 11 inches; being on a scale of one-half that of Bonner's, of which it is evidently a corrected and improved copy. Among the important changes are the extension of the Neck portion of the map, so as to include the South Windmill, the location of the Pond near the Great Tree, and the correction of the spelling of names. The Garden near the foot of Beacon Street is named as "Bannister's Gardens." The copy which has been preserved is in the possession of Dr. J. Mason Warren; and, although it has no date printed upon it, nevertheless bears positive evidence that it was executed in 1728,—the only year that Governor Burnett was actively the Governor of Massachusetts,—and nothing bearing date later than 1723 being delineated on it.

German Map: This small map, 9 by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, including a small portion of Boston Harbor, was published by Arkstee and Merkus in 1758, at Leipsic, with a collection of voyages. The same map was published in Paris in 1764 by Jacq. Nic. Bellin, engineer; engraved by Arrivet. These were evidently copies of an early English map.

Romans's Map: A small engraving, made under B. Romans in 1775, measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Bunker-hill Map: A plan, by an officer present at the battle of Bunker Hill, contains a map of Boston and Charlestown, measuring 14 inches square; published in London by R. Sayer and J. Bennett, 27th November, 1775.

Pelham's Map: Done in aquatinta by Francis Jukes, from surveys made by Henry Pelham, and published in London, June 2, 1777. It contains also some of the environs, with the military works in 1775 and 1776. Size, $42\frac{1}{2}$ by $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Page's Map: Printed in London for William Faden, in 1777, from a drawing made by Lieutenant Page, of the English Corps of Engineers, in 1775. This map shows the military intrenchments of the town, and gives names to several streets and passage-ways, differing from Bonner's. Size, 18 by 12 inches. Republished in 1849 in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*.

Norman's Map: Evidently copied in main from Bonner's Map, on a small scale, about $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 inches; engraved and published for the first Boston Directory, in 1789, by John Norman.

Carleton's Map: Drawn in 1795 from actual surveys by Osgood Carleton; and engraved by Joseph Callender for the second Boston Directory, published in 1796 by John West. Size, $14\frac{1}{2}$ by 9 inches.

Carleton's Large Map: Called "A new Plan of Boston, from actual surveys by Osgood Carleton, with corrections, additions, and improvements;" being a map of the peninsular part of the town only. Issued in 1800. Size 27 by 20 inches.

Directory Map: First printed in 1809 for the Boston Directory, published by Edward Cotton; evidently a new plate from Carleton's Map, with important additions and alterations, and engraved by Callender. Size, about 15 by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This map was continued in use twenty years; when it was superseded in 1829 by a new map, engraved by Hazen Morse.

Hales's Map: Engraved in 1814 by T. Wightman, jun., from drawings by J. G. Hales, giving the position of houses and the bounds of the various estates. Size, 38 by 29 inches.

Annin and Smith's Map: Engraved in 1824 by William B. Annin and George G. Smith, and re-issued every few years by Mr. Smith with additions. Size, about 22 inches square. This map has been used for many years past by the City Government for the Municipal Register, and School Documents.

Bowen's Map: A small map, measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 inches, was engraved by Abel Bowen, in 1824, for Snow's *History of Boston*.

Morse's Map : Engraved in 1828, for the Boston Directory of 1829, by Hazen Morse. Size, $14\frac{1}{2}$ by 9 inches. This map was continued in use by the publisher, Charles Stimpson, jun., until 1839.

Bewick Company's Map : Engraved in 1835, by George W. Boynton, from drawings made by Alonzo Lewis. Size, 31 by 22 inches. Mr. Boynton engraved in 1839 a similar map, 18 by 17 inches, for Nathaniel Dearborn ; which is now published by E. P. Dutton & Co., with alterations every year since 1860. He also engraved, in 1837 and 1839, maps, $5\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches, for the Boston Almanac ; and in 1842 a map, 14 by $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, to accompany Goodrich's Pictorial Geography ; and one of the peninsular part of Boston in 1844, measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 9 inches, for Dickinson's Boston Almanac ; and finally one in 1850, 11 by $9\frac{1}{2}$, also for the Almanac.

Annin's Small Map of the peninsular part of Boston only, 4 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Engraved in 1835 for the Boston Almanac.

Morse and Tuttle's Map : Engraved in 1838 by Hazen Morse and J. W. Tuttle, and used in the Boston Directory for the years 1839 and 1840. Size, $15\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

English Map : In August, 1842, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge published in London a very nicely executed map of Boston, much after the plan of Boynton's, taking in the peninsula of Charlestown. Engraved by R. B. Davies, of London. Size, 15 by 12 inches.

McIntyre's Map : Lithographed in Philadelphia in 1852, by Friend and Aub, from original surveys by H. McIntyre, and published in Boston. The sheet, which contains also parts of the neighboring cities, has the names of the principal residents, and views of buildings ; and measures 77 by 58 inches.

Dripps's Map : Surveyed and drawn by J. Slatter and B. Callan, engineers ; and published in 1852 by M. Dripps, New York, and L. N. Ide, Boston. Size, 57 by 39 inches. Lithographed and printed at Ferd. Mayer's, New York. This map contains the peninsular part of Boston only, with the estates and buildings marked out ; and is executed on much the largest scale of any map of Boston ever printed. The immense labor of altering the bounds of estates, and position of buildings, has thus far prevented the issue of a new edition.

Colton's Map : Similar to Boynton's. Published by J. H. Colton, New York, in 1855. Size, 16 by 13 inches.

Mitchell's Map : Published by S. Augustus Mitchell, jun., in 1860, in Philadelphia. Size, about 11 by 9 inches.

Walling's Map : Engraved for the Map of Massachusetts, published

by H. F. Walling, under sanction of the Legislature, in 1861. Size, 18 by 17 inches.

City Engineer's Map: By James Slade, City Engineer; drawn by H. M. Wightman, and engraved by C. A. Sweet, under the direction of the City Council of Boston, 1861. Size, 40 by 28 inches. This map has traced upon it the original water-line, and is issued annually with such additions and emendations as changes make necessary. It has recently (in 1862) been reduced photographically, and printed in oil-colors by L. Prang & Co., so as to measure 12½ by 9 inches.

Several small maps, being compilations or reductions, some engraved in metal and others cut in wood, have been published during the last twenty-five years by Nathaniel Dearborn and others, in books relating to Boston. Valuable plans of parts of the city have also been printed for state and city documents during the same time.

The list given above does not include the maps of Boston and vicinity, strictly so called. Among the principal of these may be mentioned, in this connection, a French map, in the possession of Hon. Richard Frothingham, engraved in 1776, and published by the Chevalier de Beaurain, containing in a vignette the earliest known printed representation of the Pine-tree Banner,—"Boston, its environs and harbor, with the rebel works raised against that town in 1775, from the observations of Lieutenant Page, of his Majesty's Corps of Engineers, and from the plans of Captain Montessor,"—engraved by William Faden, and published in London, 1st October, 1778; map of Boston and vicinity, from actual surveys by John G. Hales, engraved by Edward Gillingham in 1820, also published in 1829 and 1833 by Nathan Hale, each edition containing the required alterations; Dearborn's Boston and Vicinity, taken from the large State Map, 1841; Sidney's Map, published by J. B. Shields, in 1852, from original surveys by F. C. Sidney; Walling's large map of Boston and its vicinity, published in 1857 and 1858, and in 1859 with emendations; map of Boston and the country adjacent, from actual surveys by H. F. Walling, first issued by E. P. Dutton & Co. in 1860; Dutton's Harbor Map, 1861, taken from Walling's Map issued in 1860; and other maps compiled and reduced from these. The City Engineer is preparing for the Back-bay Commissioners an elaborate plan of Boston and vicinity, showing the drainage area of Stony Brook; which, when completed, will be a valuable addition to this class of maps.

N. B. S.

Colonel ASPINWALL communicated a paper in defence of his opinion expressed at a former meeting against the validity of the Narraganset Patent of the 10th of December, 1643.

The Narraganset Patent.

MR. PRESIDENT, — At our last February meeting, our honored colleague, Mr. Deane, gave a commentary, marked with his accustomed ability, and spirit of research, on a copy of the Narraganset Patent, which had been furnished him from your own collection of historical and family papers. Towards the close of his observations, he courteously animadverted upon some remarks against the validity of that patent, which I had made here, two years ago, after having inspected the original document at the State House.

The revival of the subject was wholly unexpected by me; and although I could hardly, on a sudden, recollect precisely the remarks I had made so long before, or so clearly discern the force and tendency of the objections brought against them as to give a complete answer to each objection, yet I felt desirous to satisfy the Society that I had not lightly obtruded upon it a crude opinion respecting a subject of historical interest, and likewise that I had sound reason for adopting, and for continuing to maintain, that opinion: but having given way to a senior member, who rose at the same moment to speak on the subject, it so happened that I had not the good fortune afterwards to obtain a hearing, — a circumstance which I the more regret, because it deprived me of the opportunity (I will not say advantage) of having my defence appear in the latest volume of our Proceedings, side by side with the criticism which it was intended to answer.

With permission, I will now avail myself of this first regular return of my section to enter upon the vindication of my opinion in regard to the patent.

In the beginning of Mr. Deane's notice of my remarks, it is said, that, "in proof of the nullity of the patent, I had alleged that the document had no seal, public or private, nor any indication of enrolment or registration" (Proceed. Hist. Soc., iii. 404). Now, these words are part of the description I gave of the document in its present condition; but they form no part of my argument. On the contrary, my inference, that the patent was a nullity, was distinctly drawn from the single fact, that it did not bear the signatures of so many of the commissioners as the parliamentary ordinance prescribed (*idem*, p. 40; Hazard, i. 533).

I deemed it useful to mention the absence of seals and indorsements of any kind, that the actual state of the instrument, at this particular period, might be accurately known. I may add, that a knowledge of its state, at different periods, might shed much light on what is now obscure in its origin and history. Besides, the absence of all indications of enrolment or registration determined at once the character of the instrument as an original, and not an enrolment duplicate, nor an exemplification; in both which latter, such indications, as a matter of course, would have appeared.

Mr. Deane's argument also erroneously assumes, that I had represented the inscription of some note, or memorandum of enrolment, as an indispensable prerequisite of a valid charter. It is true, that, by the laws of England (27 Hen. VIII., c. 11; Bl. Com., ii. c. xxi. § 2), all letters-patent must be enrolled; and the fact of enrolment is sometimes noted upon them. This I apprehend, however, to be a discretionary act, mostly professional rather than official, and not enjoined by law or regulation.

I may here state, that I am not aware of any evidence extant, nor even of any pretence, that this indispensable formality of enrolment was ever complied with in the case in question. On this account alone, the Narraganset Patent would be fatally defective from the beginning.

As, under the third head of Mr. Deane's comment on my remarks, his argument addresses itself in form, apparently to the phraseology rather than to the substance of my reasoning, it may be advisable, for the moment, to consider it in that light. I had said that the patent was invalid, because it had not the assent of a majority of the Board of Commissioners, which, by the ordinance, was required for *each* of its acts. Mr. Deane seems to think it sufficient to meet this inference by stating, in effect, that, in consequence of authority given to the president and any four commissioners to perform certain functions, a majority was not necessary for *all* acts whatever ; but I was not speaking of ordinary official details, nor of such current business, as, in most analogous cases, is transacted by a few out of the whole body of associates. The subject treated of was a patent ; and my meaning naturally was, that for issuing a patent, and for each act of that nature, the concurrence of a majority was requisite. My expression, " each of its acts," is, in truth, not scrupulously exact. Had it been " such of its acts," or " acts of this kind," either phrase would have been a more exact version of the sense of the ordinance, and have been quite sufficient to embrace the case of the patent under consideration, without extending to other acts with which the subject was not connected.

But taking it for granted that a logical confutation, and not a mere verbal criticism, was intended, I proceed to the consideration of Mr. Deane's argument. He alleges that the patent is valid, although signed by less than a majority of the commissioners, because a majority is necessary only for certain specific acts ; while, for the transaction of the general business of the Board, the ordinance requires only the assent of the president and any four of his associates. To which I reply, that the grant of a charter, such as that in question, is precisely one of those exceptional specific acts which could only be legalized by a majority.

The object of the clause relative to the president and four

commissioners was, primarily, to fix the lowest number by which any business could be done; but I have failed to discover a single instance in which that mere quorum ever acted. The perilous aspect of the times would suggest to the commissioners the obvious expediency of sharing responsibility among as many as possible. Their practice coincided with this view of their position. In Winthrop's Journal are four documents emanating from the Committee of Plantations, and every one of them is signed by a majority or more of the commissioners (ii. 272, 280, 318, 320).

Again: the sphere of duty assigned to this smaller quorum was administrative. It included neither the power of appointment to plantation-offices, nor the authority to change, in any degree, the existing form or system of territorial government. Both these subjects were, by subsequent clauses of the ordinance, distinctly placed under the control of the chief governor and commissioners, or the greater number of them (Hazard, i. *ut supra*).

The clause which specially concerns the present question is as follows: "And whereas, for the better government and security of the said plantations, islands, owners, and inhabitants, there may be just and fit occasion to assign over some part of the power and authority, granted in this ordinance to the chief governor and commissioners aforementioned, unto said owners, inhabitants, and others, it is hereby ordained, that the said governor and commissioners, or the greater number of them, shall be hereby authorized to assign, ratify, and confirm so much of their aforementioned authority and power to such persons as they shall judge fit for the better governing and preserving of said plantations and islands from open violence and private disturbances."

By this clause, no transfer of the power and authority vested in the commissioners could be made without the assent of a majority. At the date of the ordinance, the power and jurisdiction of the Board of Commissioners extended, and might,

at discretion, have been exercised directly, over the whole territory described in the Narraganset Patent, and over all its internal, intercolonial, and external relations.

A simple cession of the soil, unaccompanied by any express reservation, if made to a chartered corporation invested with the powers of civil government, would have carried with it the right of government, at least *ad interim*, and during the pleasure of the Board.

Such was the construction given by the Connecticut authorities to the Warwick Patent, or rather deed of conveyance, to Lord Say and Seale and others, of the 19th March, 1831-2; although Connecticut, at the time of her subsequent purchase from Fenwick, was only a voluntary association; and although the deed itself contains no express nor any implied transfer of civil power beyond what may be gathered from the loose and general words "jurisdiction, rights," &c., whatever they might be, of the grantors. Nor, again, is there in the deed any recital of title, or even phrase, to explain what rights the Earl of Warwick had, or whence he obtained them.

The Massachusetts authorities adopted a similar construction of the Narraganset Patent, in their letter dated the 27th of August, 1645, forbidding Roger Williams "to exercise jurisdiction in Providence and the Island of Quiday." But they had stronger grounds for this construction. The Narraganset Patent is explicit. The transfer of dominion is clearly set forth in that clause, which "orders and appoints the governor, assistants, and freemen of Massachusetts to govern" the Narraganset territory in the same manner as was prescribed in their own royal charter. This being such an assignment of power and authority as required the assent of a collective majority of the chief governor and commissioners, and the Narraganset Patent having only nine signatures (one less than a majority), is therefore, and always was, a nullity, invalid, of no force and effect whatever; and never could have passed the commissioners' table, unless we resort to the bold

assumption, that the Board deliberately, in the outset of its official career, set at defiance the organic ordinance to which it owed its existence.

The declaration of the Earl of Warwick, that he was sure the patent had never passed the table, if made, as asserted by Roger Williams in his letter to Mason (1 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 279), would be conclusive proof of the fact. The patent could not have passed without his knowledge, because the ordinance required that he should be present at all meetings, even of that smaller quorum, by which Mr. Deane supposes it might have been passed. If, therefore, it be conceded that the Board would not illegally confirm an illegal instrument, the question raised under Mr. Deane's fourth division is narrowed down to this single point: Did the earl actually utter the declaration as stated by Williams? Williams himself was thoroughly convinced of the truth of what he repeated; for he introduces it with the emphatic words, "It is certain." Mr. Deane also candidly admits his sincerity so far as to say, "that he should have great confidence that Williams would not assert what he did not believe to be true;" but still he intimates that it is not safe to rely upon his statement: 1st, Because the occurrence took place twenty-five years before the letter to Mason was written; 2d, Because Williams, not being in England at that time, must have heard the story from Gorton or some other person.

Taking these objections, for convenience, in reverse order, I would observe, that hearsay evidence, here objected to, is admitted, even under the rigid rules of jurisprudence, on historical points, wherever it is the best evidence attainable. To discard it from history would leave us only a ghastly skeleton of the past. But no part of the evidence to which I shall refer, as the foundation of Williams's belief, was hearsay to him: it was the testimony of eye and ear witnesses.

I readily agree, that Gorton, in all probability, did relate the incident in question to multitudes in Rhode Island, and to

Williams among the rest, soon after his return from England in May, 1648; and I think his account deserved full credit: for although unwarrantable attempts were made to disgrace and destroy him, because, unconsecrated by ordination and not privileged by a university education, he presumed to exercise the functions of a scriptural teacher, and because he was as steadfast as he was extravagant and heterodox in his religious opinions, insolent under provocation, and too ready to return railing for railing, yet the whole tenor of his life shows that he was conscientious, sincere, and, in matters of fact, honest and truthful.

If, however, there were any errors in Gorton's story, Williams had, at a later period, ample opportunity to correct them. From the end of 1651 to the summer of 1654, he was in England, employed, jointly with John Clarke, as agent of the Colony to procure from the Council of State the abrogation of Coddington's Charter, and the confirmation of the Providence-Plantations Charter, obtained by Williams in 1644. Most of the distinguished persons, who, in 1644, were commissioners of plantations, were then living. Six of them, including three signers of his charter, were members of the Council of State in April, 1652, when the petition of himself and Clarke was presented (*Parl. Hist.*, xx. 78, 79). Two of these (Cornelius Holland and Sir Henry Vane) labored with him so zealously, that they received the thanks of the Colony for their eminent services in her behalf (*Backus*, i. 296). Sir Henry aided in framing the petition, and exerted all his influence and personal ability to insure its success. Williams called him "the sheet-anchor of our ship" (*id.*, p. 280). He was on terms of such intimacy with Sir Henry, as to be, for more than ten weeks, a guest at Belleau, the country residence of Sir Henry, in Lincolnshire. Many, if not most, of these ex-commissioners were personally cognizant of all that had transpired at the Board at the hearing of Gorton's complaint; and there can be little doubt that Williams sought,

and that they gave him, in the course of his last visit to England, full and authentic information in regard to the declaration of the Earl of Warwick.

Moreover, Winslow — the agent of Massachusetts and the other colonies, the old antagonist of Gorton — was still in London, and no doubt would, if he could, have contradicted the story of the earl's declaration; and as he and Williams, though personally friends, were unavoidably often brought into conflict where this very story would have been alleged as an argument in support of the Rhode-Island Charter, Williams's grave recital of it sixteen (not twenty-five) years after is strong presumptive proof, that the story was virtually or expressly confirmed, even by Winslow himself, the arch-enemy of Gorton and the Providence-Plantations Charter, and the official advocate of the "pretended" patent denounced by the declaration in question

Now, whoever, in this host of competent and credible witnesses, might be his informant, Roger Williams had too much discernment and circumspection to misunderstand or misjudge, or to adopt credulously, and without proper scrutiny, the accounts they gave him. Nor would he be likely to forget the report of an incident of such paramount interest to him, so vitally important to Rhode Island, and so intimately connected with all his public labors, with the promotion of his long-cherished moral purposes, and with the grand achievement of his political life.

But Mr. Deane, as mentioned before, intimates that it is not safe to rely upon the statement of Williams, because it was made twenty-five years after the occurrence; leaving it to be inferred that Williams's memory was not to be trusted for that length of time.

This, I apprehend, is altogether a gratuitous surmise; an assumption not based on alleged facts, not warranted on general principles, and specially contradicted by what we know of the latter years of Williams.

It is almost universally admitted, as a law of our nature, that, in aged persons, the memory retains its earlier more firmly than its more recent acquisitions; and that those impressions which are deepest are also the most permanent. Consequently, although Williams, at the age of seventy, might find that tame and ordinary occurrences of the preceding day, week, or month, were more apt than formerly to escape his recollection, yet he would not, on that account, be the less sure to remember accurately an incident of very great interest which had been made known to him at the age of fifty-four, and which had been treasured up for sixteen years after, as a subject of reflection, and a frequent topic of conversation. Before we are called upon to disbelieve his account of such an incident, we should have positive proof of an extraordinary decay of his memory.

The facts, however, in his case, are proof to the contrary. Two years after this period of supposed infirmity, he was in such full possession of all his faculties, mental and corporeal, as to row his boat thirty miles in one day; and on the next, after a few hours' repose, to engage in a three-days' debate on fourteen propositions against three logical champions of Fox, the Quaker, — a contest which could have been maintained by no one without the aid of a strong memory and an unimpaired intellect (Backus, i. 461; Knowles, p. 338). In 1677 (seven years after his letter to Mason was written), his memory was strong enough to enable him to give the world a full account of this three-days' debate and its sequel at Providence, in his "George Fox digged out of his Burrowes." His letter of the 6th of May, 1682, to Governor Bradstreet (which is in the possession of this Society, and in which he solicited the governor's friendly aid towards the printing of Williams's manuscript discourses), furnishes us with an incident that demonstrates both that his memory was then good, and that he preserved it, by keeping it, at the age of eighty-three, in habitual exercise. He writes, "*By my fireside, I have recollected*

the discourses which (by many tedious journeys) I have had with the scattered English at Narraganset, before the war and since. I have reduced them to those twenty-two heads (enclosed), which is near thirty sheets of my writing."

The confidence of his neighbors, who knew him best, in the fidelity of his memory, was manifested in various ways, and continued unabated to the close of his life. Three or four months only before his death, he was called upon to sign an instrument, intended as a settlement of the long-standing controversy, of which, five years before, he had drawn up a long and minute analysis, respecting the Pawtuxet lands.

An additional proof of the slight grounds upon which the accuracy of Williams has been brought in question is, that the main fact embraced in Earl Warwick's declaration was asserted by Williams's former colleague, in London, John Clarke,* and others, in the second of the reasons for joining the King's Province to Rhode Island, presented to Lord Clarendon in a petition drawn up five years before the letter to Mason was written. It is there alleged, that the grant "which Mr. Welles (Welde), under-hand, got of the same county, was prohibited, being never passed the council-table nor registered" (R. I. Rec., ii. 162; 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., vii. 104). It may be added, that, still three years earlier, President Brenton told Edward Hutchinson (the official agent of Massachusetts) that "the" Narraganset "Patent was not fairly got;" that "there was no such thing upon record in any court of England, for he had sent to search the records;" and says Hutchinson, in his letter to Secretary Rawson, 2d April, 1662, "find there theirs, but not ours" (Mass. Archives, ii. 26).

I should not have dwelt at such length on this particular head; but besides that, as a septuagenary, I felt bound to stand by my order, I have been pained to find, in grave his

* He was not strictly a colleague. He was the agent of Newport and Portsmouth; Williams, of Providence and Warwick.

tory, the credibility of Roger Williams impeached on the same ground, for the purpose of shielding the injustice of our predecessors from merited censure.

Under the fifth head, Mr. Deane very justly corrects my error in stating that the Narraganset Patent is not mentioned by Winthrop; and points out an allusion made to it in a preliminary deliberation of the General Court of Massachusetts, nearly three years after the date of the patent. I beg to apologize for this oversight.

It is a long time — many years before I knew of any Narraganset Patent — since I read Winthrop's Journal continuously; and when, in 1860, I had occasion to consult it in reference to the patent, I naturally sought out those particular places where some notice might be expected of its character and origin; of the circumstances, agency, and instructions under which it was procured, or of its reception, and the use made of it here, especially at the return from England of Williams, of Gorton, and of his associates; in the instructions of 1646 to Winslow; and in those parts of the journal where the orders, letters, and passports, emanating from the Plantation Commissioners, are set forth at length: but, in all these places (above a dozen), the subject seems to be sedulously avoided (Winth., ii. 25, 31, 76, 159, 173, 193, 212, 220, 251, 272, 280–283, 295–297, 298, 316, 318, 319, 322, 323). In mitigation of my fault, I would beg to say further, that the casual and solitary allusion to it, now brought to view, does not, in the slightest degree, affect the justice of my conclusion, that the silence of Winthrop was probably owing to his consciousness that the patent was worthless. His *comparative* silence, his carefully abstaining from *all* notice of it on so many fitting occasions, — especially when coupled with his total silence in regard to the letter written to him by Williams, disparaging the patent, — make it, as I said, probable, and, as I may now say, nearly certain, that he did consider the patent worthless.

At the deliberation just mentioned, the patent was objected to, because in it, as in others, the Parliament "reserved a supreme power in all things." But the parchment at the State House contains no such reservation; and, consequently, it is either not the patent spoken of in Winthrop, or else the speaker's knowledge of it was too slight and imperfect to give significance or value to any opinion he might have entertained or expressed concerning it. If we embrace the former branch of this dilemma,—that the State-House document is not the one spoken of in Winthrop,—then I was right in saying that it is "not mentioned in Winthrop," and my apology has been a mistaken appeal to your clemency. If, however, we adopt the latter alternative,—the ignorance of the speaker (as I fear we must, there being no other than the State-House Patent known),—then, whatever he might have thought or said, is not, as Mr. Deane's language implies, an argument for the genuineness or validity of that instrument.

Having thus answered the several objections noted above, I would call attention to a further elucidation of the character of the document at the State House. It appears to have been drawn up, as is customary, with blanks for the date. Those blanks are now filled up with ink of a color, and in handwriting of a character, different from those of the body of the instrument; showing that they were so filled up at a later period. Regularly, the date of a patent would be the day on which it finally passed the Board, and was delivered for enrolment (18 Hen. VI., c. i.). The completion of that formal act would be the beginning of its legal existence and force. An earlier date, or an antedate, would be a falsehood and a fraud. If it were intended to give the patent a retro-active operation, or to grant a title prior to its date, that must be expressed in the body of the instrument, but not in such a way as to falsify the execution of the instrument.

Now, the date inserted in the Narraganset Patent is the 10th of December, 1643. That day was Sunday,—a day, in

those times, held so sacred, and kept with such strict and reverential observance, that on it no Parliamentary Board would venture to assemble for secular business, however earnestly they might have been importuned by our reverend agents, Thomas Welde and Hugh Peters, to break the sabbath. The patent, therefore, bears on its face a falsity, which, while it shows conclusively of itself, independently of all other proof, that this instrument never passed the table, also debars it from all those favorable considerations, which, by law and usage, are justly extended, *prima facie*, to instruments in general.

This stain upon its character is deepened by another circumstance. The second signature in order of place is that of the Earl of Manchester; and of course it would also be second in the order of time, if the places indicated the order in which the signatures were successively written. It is certain that the order of personal rank was not adhered to, as in 1643 it surely would have been, had the patent been leisurely signed at the table; for the signatures of Lord Roberts and Sir Benjamin Ruddyer follow those of commoners. Now, there is hardly the remotest possibility that the Earl of Manchester was in London at any time between the 2d of November (the day when the Board of Commissioners was created by ordinance) and the 10th of December, the ostensible date of the patent. At that time, he was commander of the fourteen thousand cavalry ordered to be raised on the 26th of the preceding July, and was actively engaged in the civil and military superintendence of the seven associated counties assigned to his command. In his letter of the 12th of October, giving Parliament an account of his victory of that day at Horncastle in Lincolnshire, he announced his intention to march immediately to Gainsborough in the same county, and also to do his best to make a diversion in favor of Hull, then besieged by the royal forces; an enterprise which with the heavy duties of his department, continued to the

end of the year: for we learn, from the Lord General Essex's letter of the 18th of December to the Committee of Safety, that the greater part of Lord Manchester's horse was still in Lincolnshire; and from Manchester's own letter of the 22d of December, that the greater part of his force was then engaged against Gainsborough; and that his own head-quarters were at that moment at Cambridge, where he was guarding St. Neots, Huntingdon, and Cambridge (Parl. Hist., xii. 423, 466, 475). I find no proof of his being in London before the 13th of the following January; when, as speaker *pro tempore* of the House of Lords, he signed a letter to the Comte D'Harcourt, the French ambassador. It would, therefore, hardly be possible that he could have signed the patent in London earlier than about a month after the false date of the 10th of December (Parl. Hist., xiii. 25).

On the other hand, supposing the patent to have been sent to search him out somewhere in his seven counties, in despite of the various hazards, uncertainties, and delays incident to times and places of civil conflict, it would then be doubly manifest that the signatures to the patent were obtained, not in the regular way at the Board, but "under-hand," as imputed, by personal application, as in the case of a petition or a subscription-list, at different times and places; and hence it would almost inevitably happen, that, in some instances, it would not be convenient or practicable for the signer to affix his own particular seal, bearing some distinctive mark (his family crest or arms), as practised then and from the time of the Norman Conquest (Spelman, Eng. W., ii. 253; Ruddiman, *Introd.*, p. 97; Black. Com., ii. 305); and in other instances, though the signature might be given as a preliminary approval, yet the seal might be withheld from prudential motives, and a conviction of the propriety of awaiting the regular deliberations of the Board, in order to take time to mature an opinion, and not precipitately to pledge one's self to a measure which it might afterwards be desirable to recall.

Under such circumstances, the omission of a seal, or that wax, with no impression, should remain instead of a genuine seal, would, in one or more instances, if not in all, be very likely to occur; and the discovery of such a capital defect would suggest, to minds of a certain class, the expediency of protecting the instrument against future scrutiny by boldly cutting off all the tags, whether they had pendent seals or nothing on them. The credulity of the world would be counted on; for many persons would consider the remnant of each tag as good proof that a genuine seal had once been attached to it. That opinion was avowed and maintained, to my certain knowledge, in regard to this mutilated document, before it was known that the copy of it in Mr. Winthrop's collection was in existence. But those remnants prove nothing: if they do (as there are eleven remnants of tags, and but nine signatures), what do the two surplus remnants prove? Just as much as the others: merely that the parchment on which the document was written was once prepared for receiving seals, but not at all that seals were ever actually attached to it.

The Narraganset Patent, in its present state, and tainted as it is with an original falsity, would very justly fall under Heineccius's fourth class of falsified charters, which, as described by Ruddiman in his "Introduction to Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*" (§ 46), comprehends such as are "so artfully cut, as if the seals had dropped from them, when there really never had been any there." The fact that Heineccius enumerates six ways in which frauds on seals were committed proves the frequency of the crime, and the cunning with which it was accomplished; and I know of no reason why our forefathers or their connections should not have shared the common exposure to such impostures.

We know not when or why the seals, if any, were cut off. It is said that the certified Winthrop copy proves that they were on in 1662. But had it so happened, that nothing but

the present remnants of tags were extant at that period, I ask, Would not those remnants be as likely to be accepted in 1662 for ample proof of the original existence of the seals as in 1860, when we know they were so accepted, although there was only the mutilated parchment to look at? That age was surely more credulous than this. To say nothing of local and personal interests, it is certain that party or sectarian zeal, and the extravagant prejudices of the time, would all have contributed more powerfully then than now to bias the judgment and belief, even of the officials employed to make the copy.

That copy also departs from the original, both in the order and in the orthography of the signatures. It does not indicate the actual position and places of the several seals; but on the contrary, if we took it for an exact copy, we should not know that the seals were pendent, but should also be led into the belief, that they were originally placed where certainly no seals ever were or could be placed in the original at the State House. It is clear that the copy was first written out with the signatures solely in succession. The insertion of the words, "& a seale," after each signature, was evidently an afterthought; for the intervals between the signatures being narrow, although a smaller size of handwriting, and a character for the word "and," after all but the first signature, were adopted, in order to crowd in the words, "& a seale," yet, in several instances, the interpolation overlaps the initial letter of the succeeding name, and in one instance is slanted upward to avoid treading upon the good name of Sir Benjamin Ruddyer, which it does not avoid after all.

However common and justifiable it may be, at the present time in this country, to use, in similar cases, such general expressions as "*a seal*," instead of "*his seal*," yet, from inexactness, they are always defective, in point of evidence, respecting ancient sealed instruments, and especially so in

regard to a charter, emanating, like that in question, from a Board of Commissioners, who, in their public acts, were enjoined to use their own seals. They are only proof of some seal or other, but not of a genuine seal: otherwise, supposing George Downing to have put his crest and arms on wax under each of the signatures alluded to, every one of these counterfeits would be metamorphosed into a genuine seal, if full faith and credit were given to such a certificate as the present.

On full consideration of all these circumstances, can we, on the strength of this certificate, be sure that Edward Rawson, to say nothing of some adroit interpolator, did not certify what he believed, rather than what he saw, of the seals? or that, if there when the copy was made, they were the genuine particular seals of the signers? or, in fine, that they were not cut off, because they were, some or all of them, spurious?

The conduct of the Massachusetts authorities furnishes little evidence that they really considered the patent to be valid. A single instance, which at first sight favors such an inference, and in which that opinion would seem to be implied, is found in their letter to Williams of the 27th of August, 1645 (Mass. Rec., iii. 49). But that letter is cautiously worded. Abstaining from positive command, it says, in substance, "We think proper to give you notice of the charter we have lately received, that you may forbear to exercise jurisdiction, &c.; or else appear at our court, to show by what right you claim jurisdiction; or, in other words, yield us the jurisdiction quietly, or lose it by coming into our court." This has very much the air of a politic device, especially as it was the second attempt made that year to deter their neighbor colony from establishing a government under her new charter. That its main purpose was intimidation, may be inferred from the account given by Winthrop of the first attempt, in which he says, "Although they had boasted

to do great * things by virtue of their charter, yet they *dared not to attempt any thing*" (Winth., ii. 220). To make the letter more formidable, before it was despatched, an appointment was made of two commissioners, who were to negotiate with Parliament about the two conflicting charters (Mass. Rec., iii. 48). This auxiliary measure was suffered, and probably intended, to expire at its birth. Saltonstall, one of the nominees, never went on the mission; the other (Captain George Cooke) never acted; and no record exists of any instructions given them; nor was any thing done, in relation to agencies of the kind, for more than a year. The Massachusetts authorities well knew that the Rhode-Island or Providence-Plantations Charter was the only one recognized by Parliament; for that had been declared to them the year before by twelve

* The warning here alluded to produced the following reply (Mass. Arch., ii. 6): —

"Our much hon^d friends & country men — Our due respects here premised — Having lately received a writing from the right worshipful your counsell deeply concerning yourselves and us, we pray your honorable attention to our answers.

"First, A civil government we honor and earnestly desire to live in for all those good endes, which are attainable thereby, both of public and private nature.

"This desire caused us humbly to sue for a charter from our mother State & government, but as we believe your consciences are persuaded to govern our soules as well as our bodies, and, yourselves will say, we have *cause* to indeavour to preserve our soules and liberties which your consciences must necessarily deprive us of, and either cause greater distractions and molestations to yourselves & us at home, or cause our further removal & miseries.

"Thirdly, Wee cannot but wonder that being now found in a posture of government from the same authority, unto which you & wee equally subject, you should desire us to forbear the exercise of such a government, without an expresse from that authority directed to us.

"And we the rather wonder because our charter as it was first granted and first established, soe it was also expressly signified unto you all, in a letter from divers Lords & Commons, at the sending out of our charter, out of a loving respect both to yourselves & us.

"Besides you may please to be informed that his Excellency the Lo: Admiral hath lately divers times bene pleased to owne us under the notion of Providence Plantations, and that he hath signified unto us (as we can shew you in writinge) the desire of Plymouth to infringe our Charter, but his own favorable resolution not only to maintain our charter to his utmost power, but also to gratify us with any favors &c. In all which respects we see not how we may dare to yealde ourselves delinquents and lyable to answer in your courte way, as your writing seems to importe, why we cast not away such noble favours and grace unto us. It is true that divers amongst us expresse their desire of composing this controversy between yourselves and us, but consider-

members of Parliament, peers and commoners, in the letter brought by Roger Williams, addressed to the governor, assistants, and the rest of their friends in Massachusetts (Winth., ii. 193). Accordingly, in the instructions to Winslow, who went out the next year as commissioner, nothing whatever is said of the Narraganset Patent: and Winslow, so far from claiming any part of the territory for Massachusetts, claimed for Plymouth all that Massachusetts had pretended to be hers, and much more, without regard either to the patent, or to that absurd figment, the title by submission of the English and natives at Pawtuxet and Shawomet; and also, it must be confessed, without regard to his own personal and official admissions previously made, verbally and in writing (Winth., ii. 295-301; 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 276; Knowles, 405, 406;

inge that we have not only received a challenge from yourselves, but also from Mr. Fenwick and also from Plymouth and also from some in the name of the Lord Marquis Hamilton (of all which claims we never heard until the arrival of our Charter) we judge it necessary to imploy our messengers and agents unto the head and fountain of all these streams and there humbly to prostrate ourselves & cause for a finall sentence & determination — and this we are immediately preparing to do without any secret reservations or delays not doubting but yourselves will feel satisfied with this our course; And in the interim although you have not bene pleased to admit us unto considerations of what concerns the whole country as you have others of our countrymen, yet we cannot but humbly professe our readynesse to attend all such friendly and neighborly courses & ever rest your assured in all services of love.

“HENRY WATSON Secty

“The Colonie of Providence Plantations
Assembled at Newport 9th 6^{mo} 1645”

Address on the outside:—

“To the Right Wor^{ship}le and their much Honn’d Friends and
Countrymen. The General Court of the Mattachusetts Colonie
assembled at Boston.”

It appears from a note on this letter, under Winthrop’s signature, that it was submitted by the magistrates to the consideration of the deputies on the 16th of the following October, — a fortnight after the session began.

Neither this letter, nor the brief account in Winthrop’s Journal of the warning which occasioned it, contains any reference to the Narraganset Patent. It is therefore safe to infer that the patent was not known, and did not arrive in this country, till on or just before the 27th of August, 1645, — the date of the letter to Williams, in which it is mentioned as “lately received.” If Welde had believed it to be a good instrument, or of any value, can any satisfactory reason be given for his withholding it for nearly a year and three-quarters after its date?

Clarke, Ill Newes, ix.; R. I. Rec., 50, 51; Backus, i. 72-74; Wins. Hyp. Unm. Ep. Ded., 82).

This view of the opinion actually held by the Massachusetts authorities respecting the unsoundness of the patent is confirmed by their total disregard to its provisions in the grant, made by the General Court in the month of October following the date of the letter to Williams, of the land and houses of Gorton and his companions at Shawomet to the Braintree petitioners. That act of spoliation not only trampled the Providence-Plantations Charter under foot, but was a direct contravention of the final clause of the Narraganset Patent, which "excepted and reserved from the premises granted all lands, &c., theretofore lawfully granted and in present possession, held and enjoyed by any of his Majestie's Protestant subjects." Whether the words "lawfully granted" were construed as confined to grants by English authority, or as also embracing Indian grants or purchases, the tenor of that clause was to protect English Protestants in their lawful possessions, and to exclude those possessions from the jurisdiction of the patentee colony. If the former, as the strictly legal interpretation, were adopted, Massachusetts would be bound, by her own previous acts and judicial decisions, to consider the whole country as "heretofore lawfully granted" by charter "either to Plymouth or to Mr. Fenwick," as Winthrop has it (Winth., ii. 143). If Indian titles or grants were also reckoned lawful grants, then Rhode Island, Providence, Shawomet, and every English settlement or homestead, within the patent, bought of an Indian chief, would be protected against all exercise of jurisdiction on the part not only of Massachusetts, but of the other colonies likewise. In fact, these Indian grants or purchases were recognized as lawful grants by the highest authority (the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations) in the Providence-Plantations Charter of 1644. In the preamble of that charter, they are mentioned, approved, encouraged, and, moreover, held so all-sufficient, as to supersede

the necessity of any grant whatever of the soil; and the whole grant in the body of the instrument is, therefore, actually restricted to the dominion alone. This charter was enrolled, and accessible to the public; and the rulers of Massachusetts, who were legally bound to recognize it, might easily — and, from its importance to them, probably did, through their friends in England, or even Rhode Island — obtain a copy of it, or full information of its tenor. It could not have escaped them, that the dispossession of Gorton and his companions was in direct conflict with the tenor of the Narraganset Patent; and it is equally clear, that such a violation of its provisions is irreconcilable with the supposition, that they had any belief in its validity. Accordingly, when Plymouth, relying upon her imaginary charter-right to Shawomet, withstood this very Braintree grant, they placed the vindication of their contemplated spoliation upon the authority of a former order of the Commissioners for the United Colonies, and avoided all reference whatever to the Narraganset Patent. Indeed, they could hardly fail to see that its final clause reduced it to a mere phantom of a charter, not worth acceptance. Were the claims of the other colonies extinguished, it would confer, in the largest sense, nothing beyond a contingent or reversionary title to such territory, as, being unappropriated by English settlers, remained in the hands of the aboriginal lords of the soil. They also well knew that the claims alluded to had been effectually extinguished by the Providence-Plantations Charter, the only one recognized by Parliament.

The next year (1646), they received, from the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, an order containing a fresh recognition of that charter, and permanently reinstating Gorton and his companions in their former possessions. This order was accompanied with a passport of the same date (15th of May), in favor of Gorton, Holden, Greene, and other late inhabitants, &c., signed by Warwick and nine other commissioners, including Mr. George Fenwick himself, requiring the governor

and assistants to give them a free and unobstructed passage through any part of Massachusetts to their former abode. In the following year (1647), Winslow, having claimed Shawomet particularly, as well as the whole territory, for Plymouth, and having alleged that the proceedings against Gorton were authorized by the four confederate governments, the Plantation Commissioners wrote to those governments two letters, signed, as before, by Fenwick, in which the charter is again referred to as granted by themselves; and the injunctions in favor of Gorton are reiterated, as not to be disregarded until the colonies should prove that Shawomet was within the limits of any of their charters. This, Plymouth, the only claimant left, never could do; and accordingly, after waiting four years in the vain expectation of being furnished with the satisfactory proof required, Winslow indignantly complains of the disgraceful position in which he has been placed by the protracted inattention shown by his principals at home to the order of the commissioners, and says, "I shall be more wary hereafter how I engage in business of that nature" (Winth., ii. 272, 280, 318-20; Haz., ii. 178; Hutch. Coll., 229).

The magistrates, whether designedly or not, avoid all mention of the Narraganset Patent in their records. Even the letter to Williams, undoubtedly drawn up by themselves, appears only in the records of the deputies. Those of the magistrates contain the order for dispossessing Gorton and his fellow-proprietors, and show, that, in the eagerness of their zeal for expelling these heretics, they did not wait for the deputies' approval of the letter, but, virtually abandoning the only ground on which that letter could be sustained, passed the predatory Braintree grant six days before the deputies' approval was given. The three kindred subjects—the appointment of new commissioners for England, the pro-validity letter to Williams, and the anti-validity grant of Gorton's lands—were all, in spite of their incongruity, simultaneously agreed to by the deputies. The Narraganset

Patent must have been very unacceptable to the rulers of Massachusetts, because the final clause, above mentioned, stood in the way of their favorite projects of securing an outlet to the ocean by Narraganset Bay, and of curbing the Narragansets and their fellow-countrymen (who had fled from themselves to take refuge in the tenderer mercies of these heathen savages of the wilderness), by the establishment of a strong plantation at Shawomet, to which they had set up a title sufficiently colorable to win for the moment the compliant favor of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. But, had the patent been deemed valid, it is very probable that it would have been so construed or misconstrued as to confer the same power over Gorton and the rest of the proscribed in Rhode Island as had been cruelly exercised under the original Massachusetts Charter in the banishment of Williams, Wheelwright, Mrs. Hutchinson, and others, and atrociously and unlawfully, once before, on Gorton and his ten fellow-victims. Authenticated facts indicate that the patent had been an offence in the eyes of the rulers almost from the first. Before it was actually brandished as a sceptre of iron over the head of Roger Williams, we find from our records, that, at the first General Court after it was received, Welde, the reputed father of the patent, who, six months previous, had so much influence as to obtain the appointment of Pococke as a colleague, was ordered, with his fellow-commissioner Peters, to return home. The harshness of this recall was aggravated by the immediate appointment of the two new commissioners, Saltonstall and Cooke; and by the mention, at the same time, of the two charters for government, &c., in the lands adjoining Narraganset Bay, as the special subject of negotiation, which, by implication, the displaced agents were deemed no longer fit to manage. Wherever the commissioners are referred to, Pococke is mentioned by name, while Peters and Welde are slighted off anonymously as "other" or "the rest of the commissioners." This occurs even in the magistrates'

vote of thanks, unconfirmed by the deputies, for "their care and pains in our affairs, and particularly that with Alderman Bartley." It is significant, that they were considered less deserving of thanks for the patent than for an affair which is believed to have been chiefly the work of Sir Henry Vane (Winth., ii. 201, 248; Mass. Rec., ii. 137, 138; iii. 48).

When Welde and Peters were sent out in 1641, the Massachusetts authorities were encouraged to expect great advantages from the Parliament, to which the king had just before, in the language of Winthrop, "left so great liberty" (Winth., ii. 25, 42, 98). A confirmation of the Massachusetts Charter was obtained, and in 1643 an ordinance also, which relieved New England from English customs-duties on exports for actual use, and on imports of New-England growth. But, in that and the following year, Welde was occupied in polemical labors,—his publications concerning the Antinomians of New England, and William Rathband's censures of the New-England churches. Peters devoted his chief attention to public affairs, and probably found his chaplaincy under General Sir Thomas Fairfax often incompatible with the efficient discharge of his duty as commissioner. In September, 1644, Roger Williams, under the sanction of the letter, mentioned above, from lords and commoners in Parliament, came to Boston, from which he had been exiled eight years before; and brought the mortifying proof, that he had succeeded in obtaining a charter that would protect Rhode Island, as far as law could do it, from the intolerant antipathies and aggressions of the rulers of her more powerful neighbor. The bitterness of this disappointment was naturally poured out upon the heads of the more supine and unsuccessful agents of Massachusetts. Some of the censures inflicted on them are still extant: many more will always remain unknown. Winthrop accuses Welde of having "lost or forgotten" papers sent out to him; and the records mention that "we had received great detriment, because we had none in England to inform Parlia-

ment in our behalf" (Winth., ii. 272; Mass. Rec., ii. 161). It is probable that Welde, in self-defence at last, and near the date of the letter to Williams (27th August, 1645), sent out this abortive patent, not perhaps to be used as a legal instrument (for he knew its imperfections), but to prove that he had not been idle, and had nearly succeeded in his efforts to perfect the patent. Hence, after it had once, as an experiment, been held up *in terrorem*, and Williams, in turn, had communicated to Winthrop "what he believed weighty and righteous," the authorities were ashamed to make use of it, and wisely preferred to let it sink into oblivion.

Thenceforward, in maintaining their previous pretensions to jurisdiction in the Rhode-Island Colony until this pseudo patent was brought forward to subserve the purposes of the Atherton patentees,* they chose to rely upon the alleged titles

* The Winthrop copy of the Narraganset Patent was probably first shown to President Brenton; and in the following November, with Edward Hutchinson's letter of the 8d of that month, was despatched to Governor Winthrop in London, to enable him to put "at rest" Mr. Clarke, the Commissioner of Rhode Island, who strenuously withstood the efforts of Winthrop to complete the Connecticut Charter in such a way as to deprive Rhode Island of the Narraganset Country. Hutchinson says, "By Sir Thomas Temple and Captain Scot, I perceive that Mr. Clarke is not yet at rest. We have a patent from the same commissioners of an earlier date, which I now send." In the preceding summer, Simon Bradstreet and the Rev. John Norton had been in London as Commissioners of Massachusetts; and although Bradstreet, both in his public capacity and from private interest as a co-proprietor in the Atherton Company, might be expected to defend the rights of this colony and of the company in every justifiable way, yet it appears from the same letter that he never mentioned the Narraganset Patent to Winthrop. Hutchinson excuses this extraordinary silence by saying, "Mr. Bradstreet did not speak of it, because it was *in* your patent; and, being in the four United Colonies, questioned not a fair correspondence in it" (Trumb. Papers xxii. No. 83).

Winthrop probably learned from Clarke, that the copy of the patent sent was not worth the paper it was written on; but it was neither honorable nor ingenuous in Hutchinson to leave Winthrop blindly to grope his way in the use of this document by withholding from him all knowledge of the fact, that it had been shown by Hutchinson himself to Brenton, the friend of Winthrop (*id.*, No. 85; and Mass. Arch., *ut supra*), and by him denounced as "not fairly got," and "not registered in any court in England." But Hutchinson, though a gallant soldier and adorned with many estimable qualities, was apparently of the school which adopts for its motto, "All is fair in politics." He was himself the chief manager, in this country, of the affairs of the Atherton Company. The special agent in England was his correspondent and "un-ceremonious friend," Captain John Scot, who, after many great vicissitudes of fortune,

by conquest and submission, although such titles divested their sovereign, rightful or *de facto*, of the acknowledged para-

had risen to considerable wealth, and insinuated himself into the good graces of the "men who steered" both in the four United Colonies and in England. That Hutchinson himself was not too scrupulous to wink at whatever expedients Scot might make use of in England for the good of the company, may be inferred from the fact, that eighteen months after this pseudo patent was foisted upon the pure and unsuspecting Winthrop, and near the day when Scot was convicted at Hartford of perjury, forgery, and many other things, Edward Hutchinson was fined by the General Court of Massachusetts ten pounds for putting in more than one vote on the day of election (Mass. Rec., iv. pt. ii. 108).

From Scot's account of himself, in a petition to the king (which, if untrue, was susceptible of speedy disproof), and from our own records, it appears that he was the son of an Englishman of some fortune, who aided the king by an advance of fourteen thousand three hundred pounds, and lost his life in his service. For cutting the bridles and girths of the Parliamentary horses at Turnham Green, when the king's forces were at Brentford (14th November, 1642), he was brought many times before a Parliamentary Committee, to whom he says a gift of five hundred pounds was paid "to prevent further mischief;" and was finally sent to New England under the care of Edmund Downing, then in England, of whose treatment of him he complains as perfidious (Hutch. Coll., 380). He probably arrived, with other children brought by Mr. Downing, in the beginning of September, 1643; and for the care of whom a committee of four was appointed, and required "to dispose of the children, to call for their beds, and to see that satisfaction be procured and paid in" (Mass. Rec., ii. 45). The next year, 13th November (*id.*, 89), Mr. Downing was called upon to give an account of the children taken into the ship, their names, where landed, and to whom delivered. Funds, and perhaps Scot's five hundred pounds, were placed in Downing's hands on account of the children, and received by the committee, as appears from the Court's order to the committee to pay Captain Cooke, soldiers, &c., who went to seize Gorton's company, out of the committee's money, which was to be "repaid when it came in."

Scot was placed by Downing with his neighbor Laurence Southwick, who afterwards, with all his family, suffered imprisonment, whipping, and ruinous fines, during the Quaker persecution; and, in 1659, was banished with his aged wife. In May, 1648, the General Court ordered that John Scot should serve his master so much longer, after his term of service expired, "as should be well worth thirty-five shillings," or satisfy his master in some other way. After this, "being," as he says in his petition, "obliged to court any employment to acquire a livelyhood," he went to Long Island, of which, as his petition states, "he purchased near one-third part."

In 1664, during the war between England and Holland, the Dutch settlements on Long Island, as well as on the main land, having been much harassed by frequent incursions and robberies committed by nocturnal marauding parties, the Dutch authorities, knowing that such proceedings were not sanctioned by the Colonies generally, whose interest in an illicit trade with the former led them to adopt a neutral policy, ordered the arrest of suspected parties; and, under this order, John Scot and five others were arrested, and sent to New Amsterdam, where they were examined, and, after a short detention, discharged (Brodhead, 579).

In the same year, Captain Nathaniel Silvester, of Shelter Island, brought an action of defamation against Scot and his neighbor John Yongs (probably eldest son of the minister of Southold); but on John Yongs bringing a counteraction of the same sort,

mount right to the soil and dominion, and arrogated powers of which their chartered corporation was legally incapable

in which John Scot might possibly be a formidable witness, the action was settled by private agreement (N. Hav. Rec., ii. 89, 92).

In 1659, his aged master, Laurence Southwick, with his wife Cassandra, who had both been banished from Massachusetts (Mass. Rec., iv. pt. i. 387), in June of that year took refuge at Shelter Island, then owned by Captain Silvester, Scot's former antagonist; and there, soon after, exhausted by their sufferings under a cruel persecution, and their consequent indigence and grief, they died within three days of each other (Bishop's N. Eng. Judged, pt. i. 89).

In 1680, Oct. 6, Scot "caused much embarrassment to the people of Southampton." They were originally emigrants from Lynn, Mass.; so near the scene of Scot's apprenticeship, that he was enabled to give them interesting news of the persons and places they had left behind. They bought of him lands, which, he said, he had bought of the Indians; but, after much litigation, the conveyances were found fraudulent and void (Brodhead, 671).

In 1681, he was in London, and perhaps in the preceding year; drawn thither with his former fellow-prisoner, George Baxter, by the news of the Restoration. He returned in the autumn of the following year with Sir Thomas Temple. Hutchinson, in his letter of the 3d November, 1682, mentions him, together with Sir Thomas, to Winthrop, as the channel through which he derived the information, originating, no doubt, with Winthrop, "that" Mr. Clarke "was not yet at rest." He returned almost immediately to London, and might have been the bearer of the Winthrop copy of the patent which accompanied that letter (Trumbull Papers, xxii. No. 83).

From Scot's letter of the 29th of April following to Edward Hutchinson (*id.*, No. 35), we find that he had been laboring in vain to "put Mr. Clarke at rest," through the instrumentality of Winthrop, who, he says, "was very averse to my prosecuting your affairs; he having had much trouble with Mr. Clarke while he remained in England." But as Winthrop would not be a tool, and was no longer an obstacle to the prosecution of Hutchinson's Atherton-Company affairs, Scot determined to encounter the task assigned him, by himself and in his own way.

The grand object was to procure a royal letter, which would place the Narraganset lands claimed by the company under the authority and special protection of Massachusetts and Connecticut, to the utter exclusion of Rhode Island. To obtain this letter, as soon as Winthrop had left the Downs, "a potent gentleman," as Scot calls him, had been taken "into the Society;" and a petition had been preferred by Scot "against Clarke, &c., as enemies to the peace and well-being of his Majesty's good subjects;" and, to make more sure of the royal letter asked for in the petition, curiosities to the value of £60 had been bought "to gratify persons that are powerful."

The "potent gentleman" was Thomas Chiffinch, — the "*noble* Mr. Chiffinch," to whom Scot sent his "service" the next year, in his letter to the Secretary Williamson (N.Y. Col. Doc., iii. 48); the court pimp; the willing abetter of every vile court intrigue; the man who, to furnish assurance of the royal sanction, contrived the interviews between Charles II. and Dangerfield, the assassin from Newgate, hired to murder the discarded Premier Shaftsbury; and who afterwards stealthily admitted the Catholic confessor to the dying monarch (Life of Shaftsb., 141, ed. 1683; Burnet, O. T., 1685).

Scot's efforts were crowned with complete success. Chiffinch, and the "powerful persons" who were *gratified* with the £60 worth of curiosities, "accomplished the business" of Hutchinson and his Atherton associates. On the 21st of June, 1683, the

(Mass. Rec., iv. pt. ii. 174-7). The lamentable principle of intolerance, which too many of them, in the spirit of the age,

expected letter was signed. The king was probably both ignorant of its import, and indifferent to it; or, as on most other like occasions, relied upon the account given him by his constant attendants. The letter was addressed to the Governors and Assistants of the Massachusetts, Plymouth, *New-Haven*, and Connecticut Colonies. In the preamble, the Atherton associates, with Thomas Chiffinch at their head, and John Scot next, are represented as "just proprietors of the Narraganset Country," and as "desirous to improve it into an English Colony, . . . to the enlarging of our Empire and the common good of our subjects;" yet "daily disturbed and unjustly molested in their possession and laudable endeavors by certain unreasonable & turbulent spirits of Providence Colony, . . . to the great scandal of justice & government, and the imminent Discouragement of that hopeful plantation."

The proprietors were "effectually" recommended by the king to the "neighborly kindness and protection" of the colonial rulers; "to be permitted peaceably to improve their colony & plantation;" . . . and "on all occasions" to be assisted "against such unjust oppressions and molestations, that so they may be secured in the full and peaceable enjoyment of their said country, according to the right and title they have to it." . . . This extraordinary mandate was a perversion of the character and facts of the Atherton controversy, as well as a virtual sanction of the unwarrantable proceedings of Massachusetts and Connecticut, in regard to lands lying within the chartered limits and sole jurisdiction of Rhode Island. It not only ignored those proceedings and the still existing charter of Rhode Island, but the signal and important fact, that New Haven, included with the other colonies in its address, was, at the time, a political nonentity, having been absorbed by Connecticut as part of her own territory, defused by her charter of the 10th of May in the preceding year. It also substantially set aside the agreement made between Winthrop and Clarke, under which the Atherton Company, in the exercise of its stipulated right of option, had already placed itself under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, by placing her anew under the special protection of the four colonies (N. Hav. Rec., ii. 511, 526; Hazard, ii. 498).

This letter was countersigned by Bennet, soon after Lord Arlington, the enemy and patron of all the enemies of Clarendon, who undoubtedly was kept in profound ignorance that there was such a document in existence. That this was so, may be inferred from the fact, that, only seventeen days after the date of the letter in question, Clarendon passed, under the Great Seal, the Royal Charter of Rhode Island, in which the agreement was recognized, and the injunctions of the letter practically annulled.

That the means by which the letter had been procured were known to the Atherton associates, was a matter of course; and it was only natural that they should become known to many. The circumstance that Scot's letter to Hutchinson was placed among the papers in the collection of Governor Trumbull, is a confirmation of this supposition; which may account in part for the anxiety displayed, at a later period, by the governments of the other colonies in Scot's behalf, when arrested by Connecticut. But the royal letter was received, on Scot's return, with none the less readiness. New Haven made it the foundation of a renewed but unavailing resistance to the measures adopted by Connecticut to enforce the union. The commissioners of the three orthodox sister colonies appealed to it, with loyal respect for its authority, even after the arrival of the Rhode-Island Charter.

The prayer of Scot's petition in his own behalf, mentioned before, was that he might be appointed Governor of Long Island, or liberty be granted to the inhabitants to

gloried in upholding, led them at various periods to the verge of treason, to tyranny over the consciences of their fellow-

choose a governor and assistants yearly. In the reference of this petition to the consideration of the Committee of Foreign Plantations, Bennet premises that the king, "having received good testimony of Scot's loyalty & great sufferings, and being fully satisfied of his particular abilities to serve him, was graciously inclined to encourage him in his desires."

To forward his project for obtaining the government he sought, Scot's first step was to complain to the Committee of Foreign Plantations of the intrusions of the Dutch into the main land of New England, some islands adjacent, and in particular on Manhaddoes and Long Islands. In consequence of his representations, the committee, on the 6th of July, ordered "Captain Scot, Mr. Maverick, and Mr. Baxter, to draw up a brief narrative, showing the King's title, the Dutch intrusion, their deportment since; management, strength, trade, and government there; and, lastly, the means to make them acknowledge or submit to the King's government, or to compel them thereto, or expulse them" (T. A.'s N. York MSS. Papers, i. fol. 11; N. York Hist. Doc., iii. 46). Maverick's petition concerning Massachusetts, mentioned in the sequel, and which led to the appointment, in the following year, of himself and three others, as Royal Commissioners to the Colonies, was probably framed about this time, in co-operation with Scot's plan for subjugating the Dutch colonists; and likewise, that in order to gain the favor of the Duke of York, and consequently that of Clarendon, for the scheme, suggestions were made in regard to the expediency of bestowing upon the king's brother the important territory to be recovered from the Dutch; which was effected by the king's letters-patent, on the 12th of March, 1664, — nearly half a year before the actual surrender by the Dutch Governor Stuyvesant.

Scot, on his return, carried with him the famous letter, and the royal instructions enforcing the observance of the navigation-laws; which, of course, would put an end to any open illicit trade with the Dutch colonists. He was received, on his arrival, with cordial welcome. The great men of the different colonies who were associated with the Atherton Company were grateful for the efforts which had secured for it the royal favor, and also effectually placed it under the broad protection of the Confederated Colonies. New Haven proclaimed her gratitude by her vote, that Scot "had been a good friend to the Colony in general, and to some persons in particular" (N. Haven Rec., ii. 615). She paid all his expenses; and furnished him with an armed force, when he soon after went to Long Island. Connecticut appointed him a commissioner at Setawket (or Ashford), with magisterial power throughout Long Island. Winthrop himself administered the oath of office to him and his colleagues, Talcott, Young, and Woodhull.

After writing a letter on the 14th December, 1663, to the Secretary Williamson, to caution him against the Dutch, and to send his "service to noble Mr. Chiffinch," he proceeded to Long Island; and, on the 31st of that month, addressed a letter to Governor Stuyvesant respecting that island. On the 11th of January following, he, with Captain Young (Yonga), was at the Dutch village of Midwont, with sixty or seventy horse, and as many foot, with flying colors, drums beating, and trumpets sounding. When called upon to show by what authority he came in that warlike manner, he exhibited a letter, drawn up by the magistrates at Hartford, for him and his colleagues to inquire what right the Dutch might have to Long Island. He then, as the Dutch report states, "stuck it back in his pocket; saying, 'If Mr. Stuyvesant come over, I shall speak to him of weightier matters'" (N. Y. Hist. Doc., ii. 398-4).

men, and to inhumanities that wring the heart of the modern Christian. It is not wonderful, therefore, that, through

He came ostensibly in pursuance of his instructions to bring the English settlements or villages, which the Dutch had recently at Hartford agreed to relinquish, to accept the jurisdiction of Connecticut. But these communities were not unanimous in regard to the proposed annexation. The inhabitants who were in favor of it complained of the indirect and ambiguous language of the Connecticut authorities; while, on the other hand, all the Quakers, Baptists, and other heterodox sectaries, dreaded a Puritan thralldom; and no doubt the deported loyalist Scot cordially sympathized with them (Brodhead, 725).

He thought the time had now come when he might drop the mask, and openly take service under the duke's banner. He therefore announced to the people, that the king had granted the island to the Duke of York, who would shortly make his intentions known. A number of the English villages combined in rejecting the proffered union with Connecticut; and empowered Scot, as their president, to provide for the public safety and welfare (Brodhead, 726). Under this independent temporary authority, it appears that, not content with the English parts of Long Island, about the 28th of February he claimed the whole of it, and the entire province of New Netherland besides (N. Y. Hist. Doc., ii. 231).

But his dream of ambition was speedily interrupted. The magistrates of Connecticut, exasperated at being thus perfidiously baffled in their scheme for acquiring territory outside their charter limits, ordered his arrest on the 10th of March. He was soon after apprehended, and brought to the Hartford prison for trial. While there, he was dangerously ill; and, as Governor Leete wrote, likely to die, as Scot conceived, by poison.

Still Scot's condition was not hopeless. He had won the gratitude of New Haven: and her Governor Leete, who was probably indebted to Scot's friendly efforts in England for escaping all question in regard to the concealment of the fugitive regicides, wrote to the magistrates of the Colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts, entreating them, "as Confederates of a special interest in the weale publique & peace of the country, . . . to do their *utmost* for the prevention of Captain Scot's ruin, and the hurt that may come thereby to the country; he being reputed his Majesties servant, and upon service now, by letter to the *united* Colonies, when thus obstructed; . . . and if . . . the *manner & manner how* do come to be narrated, as it is likely to be, no one appearing to prevent it, *all* may be damnified." His "thoughts and desires are that the Governor of Plymouth may advise agreement, and the Commissioners of the United Colonies be called to Hartford to see and appoint what is to be done, & how," in the matter. He names the 8th of May as the time fixed for Scot's trial (Mass. Arch., ii. 183).

Governor Leete had a particular concern for New Haven, which he considered to be "struck at in the business;" and he had also cause to share, to some extent, in the apprehensions which his obscure but well-understood and ominous intimations were calculated to excite in the minds of the Massachusetts rulers (Hutch. Coll., 284).

According to Chalmers, from the Restoration to 1682, when, by Cranston's advice, the "General Court attempted to bribe the King," they had tampered with the fidelity of the king's ministers, and kept in constant pay the clerks of the Council, in order to learn the "secrets of administration." He does not specify instances; but he gives several names, and refers to the files of the State-paper Office (Chalmers's Pol. Ann., 412-13, 461). In the sequel, it will appear that documents were surreptitiously obtained, and conveyed to the Governor and Council; and, in one instance, by Scot

agencies to which this noxious principle gave birth, the adjoining heretic colony should be obstructed by many unworthy

himself. The presumption that Scot was regularly employed in such service, while in England, is strengthened by the fact, that almost immediately after his return, when they were called upon to account for their seizure and imprisonment of Saunders and Burdett, and particularly needed some one to replace him, the magistrates in council, on the 31st of December, 1663, adverting to the circumstance, that they had sent to Secretary Morrice, by the last ship, "a true narrative of the difference between" them "and Rhode Island, appointed a committee of three (Willoughby, Danforth, and Leveret), and empowered them to improve some friend or friends in England, as they shall judge meet, to make way for the improvement of our *information*, &c., and giving us the best advice how our affairs stand in England, and *prevent all inconveniences the best they may*; and the charges . . . expended . . . thereon" should "be repaid seasonably . . . out of the publicke Treasury" (Mass. Arch., vol. cvi. p. 71).

On the 18th of the following May, the General Court approved of the measure, and appropriated £400 to carry it out (Mass. Rec., iv. pt. ii. 101).

Governor Leete's letter was brought by Scot's servant; from whose relation, and from Scot's papers, brought at the same time, a full knowledge might be gained of "the transactions of a cloudy aspect," which had occasioned "the extremity of hazards to him and the country." Five days after the date of Leete's letter, the Massachusetts magistrates commissioned General Leveret and Captain Davis to negotiate with the authorities of Connecticut about Captain Scot; and the next day, 28th of April, Governor Prence, of Plymouth, who had been written to already by Secretary Rawson, wrote, urging them to do what they had already done, on the ground that it was "a case in which the *whole* might be deeply concerned." He afterwards fulfilled his promise contained in this letter by sending Bradford and Southworth as commissioners to Hartford (Mass. Arch., ii. 184; Hutch. Coll., 384).

This combined interposition was unavailing. Scot was brought to trial in the Particular Court at Hartford; and on the 24th of May, 1664, was convicted on ten charges, among which were usurpation of the king's authority, forgery and perjury. He was sentenced to pay a fine of £250; to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the Court; to give security to the amount of £500 for his good behavior; to be degraded from the office of commissioner on Long Island; and to be disfranchised. His estate was sequestered; and, in 1665, his former colleague, Talcott, and Allen, the Secretary, were empowered to sell his land on Long Island, to pay his fine (Conn. Rec., ii. 16). They probably found some difficulty in executing this Connecticut commission, owing to an intermediate change of circumstances. Scot had escaped from prison; Long Island had been granted to the Duke of York; the Royal Commissioners (Nicolls, Cartwright, Carr, and his old friend Maverick) had arrived; and Scot placed himself under their protection, so advantageously, that, according to the Dutch report, on the 25th of August (4th September, N.S.), two days before New Amsterdam surrendered to Colonel Nicolls, Scot, "who had heretofore summoned Long Island," joined the English force with his horse and foot (N. Y. Hist. Doc., ii. 393).

It will be recollected, that Scot, in his petition to the king, stated that he had "purchased near one-third part of Long Island." This might be so; but as the Indians, of whom he purchased, often sold the same land, over and over again, to different individuals, who, in turn, often had no written license or confirmation from the agent of Lord Sterling, his title, in common with others, would frequently be brought into question and angry controversy. A great dispute of this kind between the inhabi-

expedients in her anxious efforts to establish order and a regular government under her charter. To this end, under

tants of Jamaica, Long Island, was adjusted by Colonel Nicolls, as Deputy-Governor, under the duke, of his possessions in America, on the 2d of January, 1665. Some of Scot's ubiquitous purchases were very probably among the subjects of this litigation; which proved so troublesome and embarrassing to Nicolls, as to induce him to ordain, that no purchase from the Indians, without the Governor's license, executed in his presence, should be valid (Smith's New York, p. 27).

Hardly was this controversy disposed of, when Nicolls was troubled with a complaint, laid before him by Secretary Allen on the 1st of February, that "Scot, according to his wonted course, was creating disturbance among the people of Setawket, by laboring to deprive them of their land, which he claimed by purchase from Indians" (N. Y. Doc., ii. 86).

About this period, Nicolls appears to have lost all confidence in Scot. He was well aware that Scot had coveted and expected the government of Long Island. Nicolls, a wise, upright, and zealous servant of the king and the Duke of York, preferred to retain it, rather than encounter the hazard of intrusting it to Scot. In a letter to the duke, written probably in November, 1665 (N. Y. Hist. Doc., iii. 105), Nicolls says, "Scot, born to work mischief as far as he is credited or his parts serve him, contrived and betrayed Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret into a design of ruining all hope of increase in your royal highness's territory;" i.e., by the grant to them of all his territory west of Hudson's River.

This letter, which gave the duke the first information that the names of New Amsterdam and Aurania had been changed into those of his two titles, York and Albany, was followed on the 24th of October, 1666, by another respecting Scot, addressed to Secretary Morrice, in which Nicolls says, "I think it my duty to inform you that a copy of his Majesty's signification to Massachusetts was surreptitiously conveyed over to them, by some unknown hand, before the original came to Boston; and formerly the very original of Mr. Maverick's petition to the Privy Council, concerning Massachusetts, was stolen out of Lord Arlington's office by Captain John Scot, and delivered to the Governor & Council at Boston. This I affirm positively to be true; though Scot, when I questioned him upon the matter, said that a clerk of Mr. Williamson's gave it him. The same Scot, by a *pretended seal, affixed to a writing*, in which was the King's picture, drawn with a pen or black-lead, with his Majesty's hand, Charles R., and sub-signed H. Bennet, had horribly abused his Majesty's honor in these parts, and hath fled to Barbadoes. Lord Willoughby sent word that he would send him to England" (*id.*, iv. 136).

Thus terminated the American career of Scot. Of the subsequent events of his life, nothing certain is known. With all his faults, he had the adroitness to acquire no small favor with leading men, both in this country and in England, and to be on terms of familiar intercourse with them. His complaint against the Dutch intrusion, aided, if it did not originate, the design of sending out the first expedition against the Dutch possessions in this country. It naturally contributed, together with his own suggestions, and those in the narrative drawn up by himself and his colleagues, Maverick and Baxter, to the royal grant made to the Duke of York of those possessions, before they were actually gained by the English forces; and it paved the way for the duke's subsequent transfer of the Jerseys to Lord Berkeley, the President of the Committee, before whom the complaint was laid, and to Sir George Carteret, the friend and naval associate of the duke.

Up to the period of his conviction, he appears to have stood well with the highest

a pretence of jurisdiction too shallow ever to be submitted to the judgment of the Commissioners of Plantations, heathen

public men of this country; and there was no visible reason why it should not be so. He was not deficient in education: he had raised himself to considerable wealth, to the rank of captain and of commissioner; and had been employed confidentially abroad, both by Massachusetts and by the Atherton Company, which comprised some of the dignitaries of the land. If Winthrop had believed him to be unworthy, he would neither have consented to his appointment as First Commissioner for Long Island, nor have administered to him the oath of office. Winthrop's objection to Scot's "prosecuting" Hutchinson's Atherton "affairs, while he remained in London," was founded, not on any personal aversion of his, at that time, to Scot, but obviously on the reason assigned in Scot's famous letter to Hutchinson; namely, that "he," Winthrop, "had had much trouble with Mr. Clarke." That trouble having been amicably terminated, he was unwilling to revive it in any shape; and least of all, we may be sure, as no doubt Scot was, would Winthrop be a party to a contrivance for vitiating his own plighted faith by falsehood and the defamation of Clarke. The plan of Scot, on the other hand, which he probably did not dare to disclose to Winthrop, was to make the ruin of Clarke's reputation the basis of all his sinister proceedings in behalf of the Atherton Company.

As these all had at least the tacit sanction of Hutchinson, and means were furnished for them, it follows, almost unavoidably, that Hutchinson did employ him, with a latitude of discretion that allowed him to take himself and Chiffinch "into the Society," and to expend money in bribes as he "might deem meet." It is a matter of history, that the fruits of Scot's knavery were received with gratitude, and without compunction. The letter fished from the king was vaunted as more authoritative than the Charter of Rhode Island, bearing the royal sign manual and the Great Seal of England; and likewise as crowning proof that the charter itself was basely and insidiously obtained, although it is demonstrable that the charter was known to have been framed openly, and with unusual deliberation. For that part of it relating to Narraganset, and therefore most unacceptable to its impugnors, was founded on the award of five arbitrators, agreed to and accepted by the Commissioners of Connecticut and Rhode Island, the colonies most interested in the matter; and another clause, providing for the freedom of religious opinion, was inserted by the king's special order. Roger Williams, in his letter to Mason, says, "This his Majesty's grant was startled at by his Majesty's high officers of state who were to view it" (the charter) "in course before the sealing; but, fearing the lions roaring, they couched, against their wills, in obedience to his Majesty's pleasure." Can there be, at this day, any ground for believing that the charter was obtained by chicanery, or that the king signed it in ignorance of its purport? (Haz., ii. 499; Bancroft, ii. 64; Arnold, i. 300-9, 388-6; Plym. Rec., x.; Acts of Com. U. C., 320.)

In regard to the clause in the Connecticut Charter respecting Narraganset, the truth appears to be, that Winthrop, not having, as the correspondence shows, very definite notions of the topography of Narraganset, depended too much upon the representations of Hutchinson, whose agency and frequent and long visits had made him more familiar with all the localities; and whose unscrupulous subordinate, Scot, had sufficient topical knowledge, as well as art and shrewdness, to persuade Winthrop, that the estuary at the mouth of Pawcatuck River was called Narraganset Bay, as the Pawcatuck itself, bordering upon the country of the Narraganset Indians, would naturally often be popularly called the Narraganset River; just as, for the same reason, the same

savages and lawless white men within her chartered limits were upheld in resistance to the lawful authority in riotous, vicious, and disorderly practices, in molesting the families, and in depredations upon the defenceless property, of the inhabitants. When in danger of attack from the Narragansets, Rhode Island, with her hundred and twenty Christian English families, was refused the sale of the smallest supply of powder; while ammunition and armed men were, about the same time, promptly sent to protect the savage Pomham against the very same foe (Johnson, 107, 111, 231; Welde, Answer to W. R., 61, 67; Hutch. Coll., 154, 275-283; Shepard N. E. Lament, 3; Cobbet's Civ. Mag., 81, 82-5; Ward, Simp. Colb., 5; Winth., ii. 173; Simp. Defence, 5).

It is painful to advert to these things. But our forefathers, though wise, pious, and sincere, were nevertheless, in respect to Christian charity, under a cloud; and, in history, truth should be held sacred, at whatever cost. We, who are stationed, as it were, at the portals of history, are peculiarly bound to consider it a solemn, however unwelcome duty, on all occasions, in defence of truth, to withstand even "the pure, to whom all things are pure," as well as the "charity that believeth all things;" and also to enter the lists against that blind zeal, which is all the blinder and more pernicious because it will not see; and especially against the narrow and futile patriotism, which, instead of pressing forward in pursuit of truth, takes pride in walking backwards to cover the slightest nakedness of our forefathers.

name, Narraganset, was, so early as 1634, applied to the north branch of the now Taunton River, which bordered the eastern side of the Narraganset possessions (Wood's N. Eng. Prosp. map; Arnold, *ut supra*).

It has been mentioned before, that Scot might have been the bearer of the copy of the Narraganset Patent sent to Winthrop in London. Whether he were so or not, as confidential agent and co-proprietor of the Atherton Company, he had free access to it, both here and in England. He was quite capable and ready to fabricate any expedient interpolation; and his friend Chiffinch would have cheerfully brought all the skill of London to his aid. These circumstances throw an additional shade of doubt on the genuineness of the after-insertions, respecting seals, in the Winthrop copy.

This paper, intended at first to be restricted to the single purpose of self-vindication, has been somewhat enlarged, in the hope, that, by bringing into view the few scattered fragments of history bearing upon the subject, some light might be thrown upon the obscurities and doubts which still rested upon it, merely because it had been only cursorily and not thoroughly examined. At the suggestion of a learned and distinguished friend and associate, I venture, however, to append a sketch of the principal points embraced in the preceding remarks.

Various accounts concur in ascribing the origin of the Narraganset Patent to the spontaneous unauthorized efforts of the Massachusetts agent, Mr. Welde. He apparently obtained, by personal applications at various times and places, the signatures of nine out of the eighteen Commissioners of Plantations to the parchment document now at the State House. Whether he ever obtained their seals also, is not so clear. The certified Winthrop copy of that document is not conclusive and indubitable proof of the fact.

There is no proof whatever that the original was ever submitted to the Board of Commissioners collectively. On the contrary, it was publicly declared, by the Lord President Warwick, that it had never passed the Board; as, in fact, wanting the signatures and seals of a majority of the commissioners, as prescribed by ordinance, it never could have done: and hence it is perfectly certain, that it was not entitled to be either enrolled or dated. No proof, or even pretence, of its enrolment is known; while official assertions, made within twenty years of the time when the document was written, that it had never been enrolled, and that ample and careful search for the enrolment had also been made, passed at the time, and remain to this day, without contradiction. Its present date is a forgery, — a criminal, unauthorized insertion; and, being on a Sunday, a palpable falsehood besides.

Welde knew that it was a worthless instrument. Had he

thought otherwise, he would neither have wished nor dared to retain it in his own hands more than a year and a half: for his writings show that he was no friend to toleration, or to the tolerant community in Rhode Island; and he would have exulted in the accomplishment of his original purpose of subjecting the whole territory to the "wholesome severity" of the orthodox colony of which he was agent. He could not be ignorant that his hopes were defeated, and his projected charter virtually annihilated, by the grant, at the instance of Roger Williams, of the Providence-Plantations Charter, on the 14th of March, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$. Two charters, grants to different parties of the same territory, are, of course, incompatible, and cannot co-exist. The recognition of one is the extinction of the other.

This recognition of the Providence-Plantations Charter was distinctly announced in the letter from Lords and Commons in Parliament, brought by Williams in September, 1644, to the Massachusetts authorities; and, at various periods afterwards, was officially made by the Commissioners of Plantations in their letters to Massachusetts. In all these, that charter is recognized, while the Narraganset Patent is utterly ignored.

Even the Massachusetts authorities of the time appear to have had very little real belief in its validity. They did not hesitate to contravene its provisions; they abandoned their professed design of negotiating respecting it in England; and in their controversies with Rhode Island and other colonies, without adverting to that instrument, they founded their claim to lands in Rhode Island entirely upon other grounds.

When subsequently brought forward in the name of Massachusetts, at the instigation of Massachusetts speculators in Rhode-Island lands, the main object in view was, not to claim the territory, but merely to transfer from Rhode Island to Connecticut the jurisdiction over certain portions of land in the former colony, on which, by her charter and laws, they

(the speculators) were intruders and trespassers. The question between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, as to the portion of Southertown east of the Pawcatuck, was essentially one of mere boundary. Secretary Rawson's letter of the 8th of March, 1662, to the Colonial Government of Rhode Island, claimed Southertown on the ground that it was included in the Narraganset Patent. But the territory granted being the same in both patents, and the Narraganset Patent being a nonentity, it necessarily followed, that Rhode Island, by her charter, was the rightful owner of the land in controversy. In that sense was the subject treated in the reply of the Rhode-Island Government of the 22d of the following May, as well as at a later period by the Royal Commissioners; and I have not discovered a single instance in which the Welde Patent ever found countenance from the English authorities, either at home or in this country (Mass. Arch., ii. 26; R. Isl. Rec., 461, 469; Mass. Rec., iv., 2d pt., 175, 176; Arnold, i. 316; Hutch. Coll., 382).

Mr. DEANE remarked, that he had listened with pleasure to Colonel Aspinwall's communication; that he himself had no preconceived theories to advance or maintain concerning this Narraganset Patent; that his simple purpose had been to vindicate our Puritan ancestors from what he had conceived to be the unjust imputation of fraud; while he had freely admitted that we needed more information on some points involved. He still held to the view that he had expressed, that the theory of fraud which had been maintained, taking the form sometimes of "forgery," was beset with more difficulties than that which assumed the integrity of the instrument, and the good faith of those interested in procuring it; but, at this late hour, he would not detain the meeting by any farther remarks.

JULY MEETING.

The Society held their stated monthly meeting this day, Thursday, July 10, at twelve o'clock, M.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the American Philosophical Society; the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon; the Smithsonian Institution; George Adlard, Esq.; John Appleton, M.D.; William Durrant Cooper, Esq.; S. Hastings Grant, Esq.; T. Bigelow Lawrence, Esq.; James S. Loring, Esq.; Rev. William S. Perry; and from Messrs. Brooks (C.), Clifford, Quint, Robbins (C.), Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

Mr. LIVERMORE stated that he was preparing a paper on the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic respecting Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers. His purpose in calling the attention of the Society to the subject at this time was to ask their aid in furnishing him with any information that might occur to them either for or against the views which he should present. Portions of the paper were then read by Mr. Livermore.

In response to Mr. Livermore's request for further authorities, Dr. BLAGDEN called his attention to a letter by Mr. Pinckney, published in the "African Repository" several years since, agreeing substantially with the views of Mr. Laurens, whose letter to his son, Colonel Laurens, of the army, Mr. Livermore had just read.

The President alluded to an article in the June number of the "Law Reporter," in which the writer cited

the high authority of John Quincy Adams against the emancipation of the enemy's slaves in time of war.

Mr. Livermore stated that he intended to pursue his investigations further, bringing together such historical papers and facts as would illustrate the subject; and that he should hope to read what he might prepare at a coming meeting of the Society. After which, he proposed to publish the result in such manner as might seem best. He was willing to take all personal responsibility with reference to the views and the authorities cited, but would be pleased to publish the paper as having been read before the Society; convinced, as he was, that the historical facts presented would gain the attention which the importance of the subject demanded.

A communication was read from Dr. JOHN APPLETON, Assistant Librarian of the Society, on the subject of the Great Seal of New England used by Governor Andros.

The Great Seal of New England.

George Adlard, Esq., of New York, has given, in the "Historical Magazine" for April, 1862 (and also as an Appendix to his Pedigrees of the Sutton-Dudleys of England and the Dudleys of Massachusetts), an interesting account of the seal used by Sir Edmund Andros during his administration as Governor-General of New England, and also as Governor of New York.

An impression of this seal, believed by Mr. Adlard to be unique, was lately presented by him to the New-York Historical Society, from which an engraving was made for Valentine's "Manual of the Common Council of New York," and also inserted in the account of the "Sutton-Dudleys of England," &c.

Mr. Adlard founds his belief, that the specimen described is the only one extant, on the fact, that after diligent search in the Archives of Massachusetts at the State House, and those of New York at the Capitol in Albany, and also in the State-paper Office in London, no other copy could be found.

There is, however, in the library of this Society, an exceedingly fine impression of the seal, attached to a grant of land in Falmouth, Me., to Sylvanus Davies and James English, dated April 18, 1688.

The seal, which is four and a half inches in diameter, is accurately described in the receipt given by Sir Edmund Andros, and now on file in the State-paper Office. In this document, it is said to be "engraven on the one side with his majesty's effigies, standing under a canopy, robed in his royal vestments, and crowned, with a sceptre in his left hand; the right hand being extended towards an Englishman and an Indian, both kneeling, — the one presenting the fruits of the country, and the other a scroll; and over their heads a cherubin holding another scroll, with this motto, 'NUNQUAM LIBERTAS GRATIOR EXTAT,' with his majesty's titles around the circumference; there being on the other side the king's arms, with the garter, crown, supporters, and motto, and this inscription around the circumference, 'SIGILLUM NOVÆ ANGLIÆ IN AMERICA.'"

There are a few inaccuracies in the engraving of the seal, which may be caused by imperfections in the impression from which the drawing was made: thus the king is represented as holding a roll of paper in his right hand; but, in the seal, the open hand is "extended" towards the kneeling figures, as described in the receipt. A chair with a richly carved back is represented under the canopy in the impression belonging to this Society, which is omitted in the engraving. The king is represented as wearing the collar of the Order of the Garter, and the George, and with a sheathed sword by his side; neither of which appears in Mr. Adlard's copy.

Anders



Fac Simile of the Great Seal of New England.

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

[illegible][illegible]

the 1970s. A different view of the world had taken hold, and the world was no longer seen as a place of order and harmony. The Ring

the following day, he was told that the "corner" of the market was "not so good" and that he would "lose" if he sold by his schedule. He was told to "hold" and "wait" for a "better" price. As a result, he was in Mr. A's "corner" for 24

Appendix



Fac Simile of the Great Seal of New England.



Fac Simile of the Great Seal of New Caledonia.

Passed by Order in Council
The day of the date hereof

J^r John W. Deery



Fac Simile of the Great Seal of New England.

The motto upon the scroll, "Nvnqvam Libertas gratior extat," from Claudian, has been rendered by Hawkins as follows:—

"Ne'er liberty displays a higher grace
Than under one where piety we trace."

In this motto, v has been substituted for v by the copyist or engraver in the first word; and the "cherubin" holding the scroll has in his left hand a branch, which does not appear in the engraving.

The "titles" of the king, as inscribed around the circumference of the seal, are "IACOBVS : II : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET : HIB : REX : FIDEI : DEFENSOR : " In the copy, the conjunction "et" is omitted, as is also the last syllable of the word "*Defensor*." This inscription, instead of being placed within a plain circle around the edge of the seal as in the engraving, is also upon a scroll, the ends of which appear behind the figures upon the device.

JOHN APPLETON.

In connection with this communication, Mr. DEANE called attention more particularly to a volume which had just been presented to the Society, entitled "The Sutton-Dudleys of England, and the Dudleys of Massachusetts, &c., by George Adlard." It presents an attractive appearance, and must have been prepared with care. Among other biographical sketches, the book contains the more particular account of Thomas Dudley which Cotton Mather had prepared, but which, for reasons given, he did not use; substituting for it a more general account. It may be remembered that Mr. Adlard, in 1858 (see Proceedings 1855-58, p. 281, and 1858-60, pp. 20, 21), offered this paper for publication in the Collections of this Society; but as the origi-

nal manuscript from which Mr. Adlard had recently made the copy which he sent to the Society had been mislaid, and there was some reason to doubt the entire verbal accuracy of the transcript, it was thought best to defer the publication till the original could be found.

AUGUST MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting was held this day, Thursday, Aug. 14. In the absence of the President (the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP), Colonel THOMAS ASPINWALL, one of the Vice-Presidents, took the chair.

Donations were announced from the Chicago Historical Society; Ebenezer Alden, M.D.; Rev. S. Hopkins Emery; B. P. Johnson, Esq.; George H. Moore, Esq.; Mr. William M. Prior; George G. Smith, Esq.; Benjamin R. Winthrop, Esq.; and from Messrs. Bartlet, Brigham, Curtis, Lawrence, Robbins (C.), Savage, Washburn, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

A donation to the Cabinet was announced, consisting of a curious old musket, three bayonets, a blanket, and an axe, used by the rebels at Williamsburg, Va.

Mr. LIVERMORE communicated a paper (portions of which he had read at the July meeting), "*On the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic respecting Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers.*"

Mr. NORTON moved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Livermore, and that a special Com-

mittee be appointed to print the paper at the expense of the Society.

Before this motion was put, Mr. LIVERMORE remarked, that he began his research as an individual effort, intending to print a few copies only, for private distribution. He had brought the subject before the Society at the July meeting, that he might receive aid or suggestions from members who were present. At the request of many members of the Society, he had extended his investigations; and, as they desired, had now offered the results of his researches. He hoped he might be permitted to carry out his original purpose of printing the paper, at his own expense, for gratuitous distribution. He should, if such was the pleasure of the meeting, print it as a paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Mr. EVERETT expressed the gratification with which he had listened to a paper containing so much valuable information, and hoped that it might be printed in the manner most agreeable to Mr. Livermore. He suggested that the motion of Mr. Norton be so modified as to obviate the objections raised by Mr. Livermore. He hoped, if consistent with his plan, that Mr. Livermore would extend his researches so as to include the services of colored seamen in the American Navy. Mr. Everett related an anecdote of an aged slave, the last of his class, showing the mildness of slavery in Massachusetts before its final extinction.

Mr. WATERSTON, Secretary *pro tempore* of the July meeting, said he had made known the proceedings of that meeting to the venerable senior member of the

Society, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, who, though unable at present to attend the meetings, retains a deep interest in all the Society's transactions. He had just received from him a letter, which he begged leave to present to the Society:—

QUINCY, Aug. 9, 1862.

REV. R. C. WATERSTON.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of this date communicates to me the purpose of Mr. Livermore to collect and publish documents on the subject of Slavery and Negro Soldiers, originating from the great men who were guides of public affairs at the time of the American Revolution. I should regard such a publication as useful and desirable, and I heartily wish Mr. Livermore success; and I shall be happy, according to my means, in aiding him in his purpose.

In respect to the general subject of slavery, I apprehend he will find very little favorable to the institution among the relics of the great men of that period.

Disgust at it was so general, as to be little less than universal. Among the slaveholders, the language and hope of putting an end to the evil as soon as possible was on all their tongues; but, alas! it was far from being in all their hearts. Some of the leaders saw the advantages derived from it by the unity and identity of action and motive to which it tended, and its effect in making five States move in phalanx over the Free States. They clung to the institution for the sake of power over the other States of the Union; and, while they were open in decrying it, they were assiduous in promoting its interests and extending its influence.

By constantly declaring a detestation of slavery, they threw dust into the eyes of the people of the Free States; while they never ceased to seize every opportunity to embarrass the measures which would advance the interests of the Free States, and at the same time to strengthen and extend the interests of the Slave States. We can trace their policy in history. We now realize the result.

With all their pretensions, the leading slaveholders never lost sight, for one moment, of perpetuating its existence and its power.

Truly and respectfully yours,

JOSIAH QUINCY.

Mr. WASHBURN spoke with interest of the letter which had just been read, remarkable as coming from a gentleman of such experience, and at so advanced a period of life. He then gave several historical facts which had come to his knowledge when writing his "History of Leicester," corroborating the statement of Mr. Livermore respecting the common practice of using negroes as soldiers during the war of the American Revolution.

The vote thanking Mr. Livermore for his paper, and committing the manuscript to him, to be printed in the manner most agreeable to him, was unanimously adopted.

A silk flag was displayed, which had been presented by John Hancock to a company of colored soldiers called "The Bucks of America." It had, as a device, a pine-tree and a buck, above which were the initials "J. H." and "G. W.," and beneath was a scroll, bearing the words, "The Bucks of America."

O

AN

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

RESPECTING THE OPINIONS OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC
ON NEGROES AS SLAVES, AS CITIZENS, AND AS SOLDIERS.

BY GEORGE LIVERMORE.

I.

NEGROES AS SLAVES AND AS CITIZENS.

In this time of our country's trial, when its Constitution, and even its continued national existence, is in peril, and the people are beginning to be aroused to the magnitude of the work to be done, all other subjects dwindle into comparative insignificance. Loyal men, of every calling in life, are laying aside their chosen and accustomed private pursuits, and devoting themselves, heart and hand, to the common cause. As true patriots, then, we, members of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, should do something more than comply, as good citizens, with all the requirements of the Constitution and the laws: we must study, in the light of history, and by the traditions of those who originally founded and at first administered the Government, the fundamental principles on which it was based, and the paramount objects for which it was established. Having done this, it may not be amiss for us to offer the results of our historical researches to others not having the leisure or the opportunity to investigate for themselves. All partisan and personal prejudice should now be abjured, and all sectional sentiments and views should yield to the broad and patriotic purpose of ascertaining, as-

serting, and doing our whole duty as citizens of the *United States*, desirous of restoring the Union to its original completeness for its true purpose.

This will not be the first time that our Society has endeavored, from the records of the past, to throw light on the path of the Government in the legislative and military action of the present. We were not long since called together specially to contribute, from an historical point of view, our aid in guiding public opinion; and the publication of the "Report on the Exchange of Prisoners during the American Revolution," read at that meeting, was warmly welcomed, as a timely and serviceable act.

Although there is a wide difference of opinion as to the cause of the rebellion, or rather as to the persons on whom rests the responsibility of having brought on this terrible civil war, yet all are agreed, that, if *negro slavery* had not existed in this country, we should now be in a condition of peace and prosperity.

I have thought that I could not, at this time, perform a more useful duty, as a member of the Society, than by preparing a documentary paper of carefully edited authorities, relating to NEGROES as *slaves*, as *citizens*, and as *soldiers*, — in order to show what were the principles and the practice of the Founders of the Republic, and thus to ascertain who have been unfaithful to the "compromises of the Constitution," and to the principles upon which the Union was based, and for which the Government was established.

In doing this, I shall endeavor to act simply as an historical inquirer, without any attempt to enforce sentiments or theories of my own. It is my purpose to present the simple records of the opinion and action of persons who have acknowledged claims to be considered as authorities.

As an appropriate introduction to the task I have proposed to myself, of producing some of the recorded opinions of

those who were eminently the Founders of the Republic, I proceed to set forth, by authentic citations, the modern doctrine which has given occasion for this research, and also some of the most important refutations of that doctrine which have yet appeared. These, taken together, will exhibit the present state of the great question as to its first two branches; namely, the opinions held in relation to negroes as *slaves* and as *citizens* before, during, and some time after, the formation of the Government of the United States.

It is a noticeable fact, that, while the Southern leaders of the rebellion uniformly denounce the North for having denied to them their guarantied rights under the Constitution, they are widely at variance when they come to specify their grievances.

Mr. Jefferson Davis, on the 29th of April, 1861, in his Message, says:—

Jefferson
Davis.

“When the several States delegated certain powers to the United-States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population consisted of African slaves, imported into the colonies by the mother-country. In twelve out of the thirteen States, negro slavery existed; and the right of property in slaves was protected by law. This property was recognized in the Constitution; and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave.

“The increase in the number of slaves by further importation from Africa was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave-trade anterior to a certain date; and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress, authorizing it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment, or discouragement of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the Government.

“The climate and soil of the Northern States soon proved unpropitious to the continuance of slave-labor; whilst the converse was the case at the South. Under the unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections, the Northern States consulted their own interest, by selling their slaves to the South, and prohibiting slavery within their limits. The South were willing purchasers of a property suitable to their wants, and paid the price of the acquisition without harboring a

suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by those who were inhibited not only by want of constitutional authority, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves. Jefferson Davis.

“As soon, however, as the Northern States that prohibited African slavery within their limits had reached a number sufficient to give their representation a controlling voice in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated, and gradually extended. A continuous series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves.

“With interests of such overwhelming magnitude imperilled, the people of the Southern States were driven by the conduct of the North to the adoption of some course of action to avoid the danger with which they were openly menaced. With this view, the Legislatures of the several States invited the people to select delegates to Conventions to be held for the purpose of determining for themselves what measures were best adapted to meet so alarming a crisis in their history.” *National Intelligencer, Tuesday, 7 May, 1861.*

It is not necessary for us to go out of the so-called Southern Confederacy, nor far from the presence of its pretended President, to refute this accusation of change in principle or in policy on the part of the North.

The associate of Mr. Davis, Mr. Alexander H. Stephens (Vice-President, as he is called,) thus frankly avows his sentiments in a speech, delivered at Savannah on the 21st of March, 1861:—

“The new Constitution has put at rest for ever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions, — African slavery as it exists amongst us, the proper *status* of the negro in our form of civilization. *This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution.* JEFFERSON, in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the ‘rock upon which the old Union would split.’ He was right. What was conjecture with him is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that great rock stood and stands, may be doubted. *The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitu-* Alex. H. Stephens.

Alex. H. Stephens. *tion, were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that, somehow or other in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent, and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last; and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation; and the idea of a government built upon it, — when the 'storm came and the wind blew, it fell.'*

"Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It has been so even amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day." — National Intelligencer, Tuesday, 2 April, 1861.

This ought to be sufficient to put at rest for ever the accusation of change of opinion, and of unfaithfulness to the original compromises of the Constitution and to the spirit of the founders of our Government. But it is a lamentable fact, that there are not wanting amongst us men, claiming to be friends of the Union and the Constitution, who yet, through ignorance or recklessness, continue to violate the truth of history on this subject.

Without referring more particularly to political writers and speakers of this class, I would call attention to the well-known words of the Chief-Justice of the United-States Supreme Court, in the celebrated case of Dred Scott, at the December Term, 1856.

Judge Taney's language is as follows :—

“ Can a negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the Constitution of the United States, and as such become entitled to all the rights, and privileges, and immunities guarantied by that instrument to the citizen? One of which rights is the privilege of suing in a court of the United States in the cases specified in the Constitution. Chief-Justice Taney.

“ The question before us is, whether the class of persons described in the plea in abatement compose a portion of this people, and are constituent members of this sovereignty? We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word ‘ citizen ’ in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, they were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the Government might choose to grant them.

“ They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever a profit could be made by it. This opinion was at that time fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race. It was regarded as an axiom in morals as well as in politics, which no one thought of disputing, or supposed to be open to dispute; and men, in every grade and position in society, daily and habitually acted upon it in their private pursuits, as well as in matters of public concern, without doubting for a moment the correctness of this opinion.” — *Howard's Reports*, vol. xix. pp. 403–405, 407.

This remarkable assertion is in direct violation of historic truth. It shocked the moral sentiment of our own commu-

nity, and excited the indignant rebuke of some of the most eminent Jurists and Statesmen of Europe, who declared the sentiments to be "*so execrable as to be almost incredible.*" It was promptly met and answered by Judge McLean of Ohio, and Judge Curtis of Massachusetts, Associate Justices of the United-States Supreme Court.

Mr. Justice McLean, in his elaborate opinion, says :—

Judge
McLean.

"Slavery is emphatically a State institution. In the ninth section of the first article of the Constitution, it is provided 'that the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax, or duty, may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.'

"In the Convention, it was proposed by a committee of eleven to limit the importation of slaves to the year 1800, when Mr. Pinckney moved to extend the time to the year 1808. This motion was carried, — New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia voting in the affirmative; and New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, in the negative. In opposition to the motion, Mr. Madison said: 'Twenty years will produce all the mischief that can be apprehended from the liberty to import slaves. So long a term will be more dishonorable to the American character than to say nothing about it in the Constitution.' (Madison Papers.)

"We need not refer to the mercenary spirit which introduced the infamous traffic in slaves, to show the degradation of negro slavery in our country. This system was imposed upon our colonial settlements by the mother country; and it is due to truth to say, that the commercial colonies and States were chiefly engaged in the traffic. But we know as a historical fact, that James Madison, that great and good man, a leading member in the Federal Convention, was solicitous to guard the language of that instrument so as not to convey the idea that there could be property in man.

"I prefer the lights of Madison, Hamilton, and Jay, as a means of construing the Constitution in all its bearings, rather than to look behind that period into a traffic which is now declared to be piracy, and punished with death by Christian nations. I do not like to draw the sources of our domestic relations from so dark a ground.

Our independence was a great epoch in the history of freedom ; and while I admit the Government was not made especially for the colored race, yet many of them were citizens of the New-England States, and exercised the rights of suffrage, when the Constitution was adopted ; and it was not doubted by any intelligent person, that its tendencies would greatly ameliorate their condition. Judge
McLean.

“ Many of the States, on the adoption of the Constitution, or shortly afterward, took measures to abolish slavery within their respective jurisdictions ; and it is a well-known fact, that a belief was cherished by the leading men, South as well as North, that the institution of slavery would gradually decline, until it would become extinct. The increased value of slave labor, in the culture of cotton and sugar, prevented the realization of this expectation. Like all other communities and States, the South were influenced by what they considered to be their own interests.

“ But, if we are to turn our attention to the dark ages of the world, why confine our view to colored slavery ? On the same principles, white men were made slaves. All slavery has its origin in power, and is against right.” — *Howard's Reports*, vol. xix. pp. 536–538.

The following is a part of the conclusive dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Curtis : —

“ To determine whether any free persons, descended from Africans held in slavery, were citizens of the United States under the Confederation, and consequently at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, it is only necessary to know whether any such persons were citizens of either of the States under the Confederation, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. Judge
Curtis.

“ Of this there can be no doubt. At the time of the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, all free native-born inhabitants of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina, though descended from African slaves, were not only citizens of those States, but such of them as had the other necessary qualifications possessed the franchise of electors, on equal terms with other citizens.

“ The Supreme Court of North Carolina, in the case of the State *vs. Manuel* (4 Dev. and Bat., 20), has declared the law of that State on this subject, in terms which I believe to be as sound law in the other States I have enumerated, as it was in North Carolina.

Judge
Gaston
cited.

“ ‘According to the laws of this State,’ says Judge Gaston, in delivering the opinion of the court, ‘all human beings within it, who are not slaves, fall within one of two classes. Whatever distinctions may have existed in the Roman laws between citizens and free inhabitants, they are unknown to our institutions. Before our Revolution, all free persons born within the dominions of the King of Great Britain, whatever their color or complexion, were native-born British subjects, — those born out of his allegiance were aliens. Slavery did not exist in England, but it did in the British colonies. Slaves were not in legal parlance persons, but property. The moment the incapacity, the disqualification of slavery, was removed, they became persons ; and were then either British subjects, or not British subjects, according as they were or were not born within the allegiance of the British King. Upon the Revolution, no other change took place in the laws of North Carolina than was consequent on the transition from a colony dependent on a European King, to a free and sovereign State. Slaves remained slaves. British subjects in North Carolina became North Carolina freemen. Foreigners, until made members of the State, remained aliens. Slaves, manumitted here, became freemen ; and therefore, if born within North Carolina, are citizens of North Carolina ; and all free persons born within the State are born citizens of the State. The Constitution extended the elective franchise to every freeman who had arrived at the age of twenty-one, and paid a public tax ; and it is a matter of universal notoriety, that, under it, free persons, without regard to color, claimed and exercised the franchise, until it was taken from free men of color a few years since by our amended Constitution.’

Judge
Curtis.

“ It has been often asserted, that the Constitution was made exclusively by and for the white race. It has already been shown, that, in five of the thirteen original States, colored persons then possessed the elective franchise, and were among those by whom the Constitution was ordained and established. If so, it is not true, in point of fact, that the Constitution was made exclusively by the white race. And that it was made exclusively for the white race is, in my opinion, not only an assumption not warranted by any thing in the Constitution, but contradicted by its opening declaration, that it was ordained and established by the people of the United States, for themselves and their posterity. And, as free colored persons were then citizens of at least five States, and so in every sense part of the people of the United

States, they were among those for whom and whose posterity the Constitution was ordained and established."—*Howard's Reports*, vol. xix. pp. 572, 573, 582.

The Hon. George Bancroft, in his "Oration before the Mayor, Common Council, and Citizens of New York, on the 22d of February, 1862," alluding to the opinion of Judge Taney, notwithstanding his affinities with the political party through which the Chief-Justice was raised to his high station, thus speaks:—

"During all these convulsions, the United States stood unchanged, admitting none but the slightest modifications in its charter, and proving itself the most stable government of the civilized world. But at last 'we have fallen on evil days.' 'The propitious smiles of Heaven,' such are the words of Washington, 'can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right.' During eleven years of perverse government, those rules were disregarded; and it came to pass that men who should firmly avow the sentiments of Washington, and Jefferson, and Franklin, and Chancellor Livingston, were disfranchised for the public service; that the spotless Chief-Justice whom Washington placed at the head of our Supreme Court could by no possibility have been nominated for that office, or confirmed. Nay, the corrupt influence invaded even the very home of justice. The final decree of the Supreme Court, in its decision on a particular case, must be respected and obeyed: the present Chief-Justice has, on one memorable appeal, accompanied his decision with an impassioned declamation, wherein, with profound immorality, which no one has as yet fully laid bare, treating the people of the United States as a shrew to be tamed by an open scorn of the facts of history, with a dreary industry collecting cases where justice may have slumbered or weakness been oppressed, compensating for want of evidence by confidence of assertion, with a partiality that would have disgraced an advocate neglecting humane decisions of colonial courts and the enduring memorials of colonial statute-books, in his party zeal to prove that the fathers of our country held the negro to have 'no rights which the white man was bound to respect,' he has not only denied the rights of man and the liberties of mankind, but has not left a foothold for the liberty of the white man to rest upon.

"That ill-starred disquisition is the starting-point of this rebellion,

George
Bancroft.

George
Bancroft.

which, for a quarter of a century, had been vainly preparing to raise its head. 'When courts of justice fail, war begins.' The so-called opinion of Taney, who, I trust, did not intend to hang out the flag of disunion, that rash offence to the conscious memory of the millions, upheaved our country with the excitement which swept over those of us who vainly hoped to preserve a strong and sufficient though narrow isthmus that might stand between the conflicting floods. No nation can adopt that judgment as its rule, and live: the judgment has in it no element of political vitality. I will not say it is an invocation of the dead past: there never was a past that accepted such opinions. If we want the opinions received in the days when our Constitution was framed, we will not take them second-hand from our Chief-Justice: we will let the men of that day speak for themselves. How will our American magistrate sink, when arraigned, as he will be, before the tribunal of humanity! How terrible will be the verdict against him, when he is put in comparison with Washington's political teacher, the great Montesquieu, the enlightened magistrate of France, in what are esteemed the worst days of her monarchy! The argument from the difference of race which Taney thrusts forward with passionate confidence, as a proof of complete disqualification, is brought forward by Montesquieu as a scathing satire on all the brood of despots who were supposed to uphold slavery as tolerable in itself. The rights of MAN-KIND — that precious word which had no equivalent in the language of Hindostan, or Judæa, or Greece, or Rome, or any ante-Christian tongue — found their supporter in Washington and Hamilton, in Franklin and Livingston, in Otis, George Mason, and Gadsden; in all the greatest men of our early history. The one rule from which the makers of our first Confederacy, and then of our national Constitution, never swerved, is this: to fix no constitutional disability on any one. Whatever might stand in the way of any man, from opinion, ancestry, weakness of mind, inferiority or inconvenience of any kind, was itself not formed into a permanent disfranchisement. The Constitution of the United States was made under the recognized influence of 'the eternal rule of order and right'; so that, as far as its jurisdiction extends, it raised at once the numerous class who had been chattels into the condition of persons: it neither originates nor perpetuates inequality." — *Pulpit and Rostrum*, 1862, pp. 104–107.

In refutation of the common charge, that the North has changed its position on the subject of slavery, I cannot for-

bear adding an extract from the "Address of the Hon. Edward Everett, delivered in New York, on the 4th of July, 1861." In his own matchless manner, Mr. Everett thus disposes of the whole matter:—

"The Southern theory assumes, that, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, the same antagonism prevailed as now between the North and South, on the general subject of slavery; that although it existed, to some extent, in all the States but one of the Union, it was a feeble and declining interest at the North, and mainly seated at the South; that the soil and climate of the North were soon found to be unpropitious to slave labor, while the reverse was the case at the South; that the Northern States, in consequence, having from interested motives abolished slavery, sold their slaves to the South; and that then, although the existence of slavery was recognized, and its protection guarantied, by the Constitution, as soon as the Northern States had acquired a controlling voice in Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated, and gradually extended, in violation of the compromises of the Constitution, as well as of the honor and good faith tacitly pledged to the South by the manner in which the North disposed of her slaves. Edward Everett.

"Such, in substance, is the statement of Mr. Davis, in his late message; and he then proceeds, seemingly as if rehearsing the acts of this Northern majority in Congress, to refer to the anti-slavery measures of the State Legislatures, to the resolutions of abolition societies, to the passionate appeals of the party press, and to the acts of lawless individuals, during the progress of this unhappy agitation.

"Now, this entire view of the subject, with whatever boldness it is affirmed, and with whatever persistency it is repeated, is destitute of foundation. It is demonstrably at war with the truth of history, and is contradicted by facts known to those now on the stage, or which are matters of recent record. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and long afterwards, there was, generally speaking, no sectional difference of opinion between North and South on the subject of slavery. It was in both parts of the country regarded, in the established formula of the day, as 'a social, political, and moral evil.' The general feeling in favor of universal liberty and the rights of man, wrought into fervor in the progress of the Revolution, naturally strengthened the anti-slavery sentiment throughout the Union. *It is*

Edward the South which has since changed, not the North. The theory of a
Everett. change in the Northern mind, growing out of a discovery made soon after 1789, that our soil and climate were unpropitious to slavery (as if the soil and climate then were different from what they had always been), and a consequent sale to the South of the slaves of the North, is purely mythical,—as groundless in fact as it is absurd in statement. I have often asked for the evidence of this last allegation, and I have never found an individual who attempted even to prove it. But however this may be, the South at that time regarded slavery as an evil, though a necessary one, and habitually spoke of it in that light. Its continued existence was supposed to depend on keeping up the African slave-trade; and South as well as North, Virginia as well as Massachusetts, passed laws to prohibit that traffic: they were, however, before the Revolution, vetoed by the Royal Governors. One of the first acts of the Continental Congress, unanimously subscribed by its members, was an agreement neither to import, nor purchase any slave imported, after the first of December, 1774. In the Declaration of Independence, as originally draughted by Mr. Jefferson, both slavery and the slave-trade were denounced in the most uncompromising language. In 1777, the traffic was forbidden in Virginia, by State law, no longer subject to the veto of Royal Governors. In 1784, an ordinance was reported by Mr. Jefferson to the old Congress, providing that after 1800 there should be no slavery in any Territory ceded or to be ceded to the United States. The ordinance failed at that time to be enacted; but the same prohibition formed a part, by general consent, of the ordinance of 1787 for the organization of the North-western Territory. In his 'Notes on Virginia,' published in that year, Mr. Jefferson depicted the evils of slavery in terms of fearful import. In the same year, the Constitution was framed. It recognized the existence of slavery; but the word was carefully excluded from the instrument, and Congress was authorized to abolish the traffic in twenty years. In 1796, Mr. St. George Tucker, law-professor in William and Mary College, in Virginia, published a treatise entitled 'A Dissertation on Slavery, with a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of it in the State of Virginia.' In the preface to the essay, he speaks of the 'abolition of slavery in this State as an object of the first importance, not only to our moral character and domestic peace, but even to our political salvation.' In 1797, Mr. Pinkney, in the Legislature of Maryland, maintained, that, 'by the eternal principles of justice, no man in the State has a right

to hold his slave a single hour.' In 1803, Mr. John Randolph, from ^{Edward Everett.} a committee on the subject, reported that the prohibition of slavery by the ordinance of 1787 was 'a measure wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the North-western States, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier.' Under Mr. Jefferson, the importation of slaves into the territories of Mississippi and Louisiana was prohibited in advance of the time limited by the Constitution for the interdiction of the slave-trade. When the Missouri restriction was enacted, all the members of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet — Mr. Crawford of Georgia, Mr. Calhoun of South Carolina, and Mr. Wirt of Virginia — concurred with Mr. Monroe in affirming its constitutionality. In 1832, after the Southampton massacre, the evils of slavery were exposed in the Legislature of Virginia, and the expediency of its gradual abolition maintained, in terms as decided as were ever employed by the most uncompromising agitator. A bill for that object was introduced into the Assembly by the grandson of Mr. Jefferson, and warmly supported by distinguished politicians now on the stage. Nay, we have the recent admission of the Vice-President of the seceding Confederacy, that what he calls 'the errors of the past generation,' meaning the anti-slavery sentiments entertained by Southern statesmen, 'still clung to many as late as *twenty years ago*.' — pp. 31-33.

These extracts from the recorded opinions of the learned associates of the Chief-Justice, the eminent Historian, and the illustrious Statesman and Orator, would seem to furnish a complete refutation of the charges brought against the North of having changed its policy or action, and violated some expressed or implied agreement respecting the supposed sacred and paramount rights of slavery.

But, as historical inquirers, we should not implicitly receive the opinions or assertions of any author, however eminent in position or however impartial in judgment and truthful in statement he may be regarded, without referring to the original records, and comparing the contemporary authorities. It is my purpose to do this, to some extent, at the present time.

The primal American Magna Charta, by which the Found-

Declara-
tion of
Independ-
ence.

ers of the Republic asserted the right of the people to form a constitution and government of their own, was proclaimed on the 4th of July, 1776. Its language is clear and explicit. The authors were men of sense and of learning. They knew the meaning of the words they used. Was it for "glittering generalities" that they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, or did they regard the sentiments of that immortal document as solemn verities? In those times which tried men's souls, were they guilty of attempting to amuse the fancy by a rhetorical flourish, or, what is worse, to delude their fellow-citizens by the merest cant, or did they intend deliberately and reverently to publish to the world their Political Confession of Faith, and to endeavor to show that faith by their works?

Happily for us and for the fair fame of those patriots, they have left, in the record of their actions and in their published correspondence, the clearest and most comprehensive commentary on the instrument they signed.

The first article in the National Creed is so broad and universal in its sentiments, that attempts have often been made to narrow its meaning, and limit its application:—

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness; that, to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

It has been truly said by Mr. Bancroft, "The heart of Jefferson in writing the Declaration, and of Congress in adopting it, beat for all humanity: the assertion of right was made for all mankind and all coming generations, without any exception whatever; for the proposition which admits of exceptions can never be self-evident."

The author, it is said, could never have intended to have this language received in its literal significance, for then it

would have included in the Declaration persons of African descent; while, at the time of the writing of this document, negro slavery existed in the Colonies, and the author of the paper was himself a slave-holder. Did Mr. Jefferson intend to condemn his own conduct, and that of his associates, by announcing doctrines at variance with their lives?

Declara-
tion of
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ence.

In Christian morals, the first step towards reformation is a conviction of sin; and the second is confession, and promise of amendment. The patriots and sages who framed our form of government, in declaring their principles as political philosophers, acted in like manner. They did not ignore the fact, that colored men were held in bondage. They did not attempt to conceal, much less to justify, the offence. As, in the popular religious creed of their day, all men, through Adam, had fallen from innocence, and were guilty; so they felt, that, by the act of their ancestors, they were themselves then acting in violation of the natural and immutable laws of political justice.

It should be borne in mind, that the Declaration of Independence is not an ethnological essay, or a disquisition on the physical or intellectual capacity of the various races of men, but a grave announcement of Human Rights.

Mr. Jefferson, in his "Notes on Virginia," has given very fully his views of the physical, moral, and mental capacities of negroes.

"The opinion that they are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination must be hazarded with great diffidence. To justify a general conclusion, requires many observations, even where the subject may be submitted to the anatomical knife, to optical glasses, to analysis by fire or by solvents. How much more, then, where it is a faculty, not a substance, we are examining; where it eludes the research of all the senses; where the conditions of its existence are various, and variously combined; where the effects of those which are present or absent bid defiance to calculation; let me add, too, as a circumstance of great tenderness, where our conclusion would degrade a whole race of men from the rank in the scale of beings which their Creator

Thomas
Jefferson.

Thomas Jefferson. may perhaps have given them! To our reproach it must be said, that, though for a century and a half we have had under our eyes the races of black and of red men, they have never yet been viewed by us as subjects of natural history. I advance it, therefore, as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind."—*Jefferson's Works*, vol. viii. p. 386.

Alluding to these opinions several years afterwards, the author, in a letter addressed to "M. Grégoire, Evêque et Sénateur," says,—

"My doubts were the result of personal observation on the limited sphere of my own State, where the opportunities for the development of their genius were not favorable, and those of exercising it still less so. I expressed them, therefore, with great hesitation; *but, whatever be their degree of talent, it is no measure of their rights.* Because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not, therefore, lord of the person or property of others. On this subject they are gaining daily in the opinions of nations, and hopeful advances are making towards their re-establishment on an equal footing with the other colors of the human family. I pray you, therefore, to accept my thanks for the many instances you have enabled me to observe of respectable intelligence in that race of men, which cannot fail to have effect in hastening the day of their relief."—*Jefferson's Works*, vol. v. p. 429.

How slavery was regarded at the time is clearly stated in the instructions prepared by Mr. Jefferson for the first delegation of Virginia to Congress, in August, 1774, and printed in a pamphlet form, under the title of "A Summary View of the Rights of British America." I have italicized a few lines as worthy of particular attention:—

"For the most trifling reasons, and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his Majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. *The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those Colonies, where it was, unhappily, introduced in their infant state. But, previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is*

necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa. Yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his Majesty's negative; thus preferring the immediate advantages of a few British corsairs to the lasting interests of the American States, and to the rights of human nature, deeply wounded by this infamous practice." — *Jefferson's Works*, vol. i. p. 135.‡

Thomas
Jefferson.

It is well known that some passages in the original draught of the Declaration of Independence were omitted when the paper was finally adopted by Congress. One of these passages shows so strikingly the feelings of the author on this subject, that it may well be cited here:—

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *Infidel* powers, is the warfare of the *Christian* king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where *men* should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And, that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another." — *Jefferson's Works*, vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

Passage
omitted
from the
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tion of
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ence.

John Adams, who was associated with Jefferson on the sub-committee for framing the Declaration, thus expresses his feelings on seeing Mr. Jefferson's first draught: "I was delighted with its high tone, and the flights of oratory with which it abounded, especially that concerning negro slavery; which, though I knew his Southern brethren would never suffer to pass in Congress, I certainly would never oppose." — *Works*, ii. 514.

The foresight of Mr. Adams, concerning the rejection of the passage relating to slavery, was not founded on a belief that the sentiments contained in it were at variance with the general views of the people both at the South and at the North (for the history of the times is full of evidence to the contrary), but from his knowledge that a few bold and persevering pro-slavery men would be able then — as they have been ever since — to induce timid and time-serving, and even honest but less strong-willed, public servants, to concede to them, for the sake of peace and harmony, all they demanded.

Lord
Mahon's
error.

Lord Mahon asserts that the rejected clause, "it was found, would displease the Southern Colonies, who had never sought to prohibit the importation of slaves, but, on the contrary, desired to continue it."

Our worthy Corresponding Member, the Hon. Peter Force, of Washington, (in two communications to the "National Intelligencer," January 16th and 18th, 1855, — republished in London in the form of a pamphlet,) has completely refuted this error; and has produced abundant evidence that the "Southern Colonies, jointly with all the others, and separately each for itself, did agree to prohibit the importation of slaves, voluntarily and in good faith." He calls attention to the Continental Association, adopted and signed by all the members of the Congress on the 20th of October, 1774.

"The second Article of the Association is in these words:—

Continental
Associa-
tion.

"'That we will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which we will wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.'

"This was signed by all the Delegates of the twelve Colonies represented in it. . . .

"As Georgia was not represented in the Congress of 1774, the Association could have no signatures from that Colony. But the people of Georgia, as soon as they could speak by their Representatives, expressed themselves as distinctly on this point as any of their brethren of the Southern Colonies. The following are among the resolutions adopted by the Provincial Congress of Georgia, on Thursday, July 6th, 1775:—

"*'1. Resolved, That this Congress will adopt, and carry into Provincial execution, all and singular the measures and recommendations of the Congress of Georgia. late Continental Congress.*

"*'4. Resolved, That we will neither import or purchase any slave imported from Africa or elsewhere after this day.'*

"The Continental Association was also adopted by the Maryland Convention on the 8th of December, 1774; by the South-Carolina Provincial Congress on the 11th of January, 1775; by the Virginia Convention on the 22d of March, 1775; and by the North-Carolina Provincial Congress on the 23d of August, 1775. The Assembly of Delaware, on the 25th of March, 1775, passed a bill to prohibit the importation of slaves into that Government; but this was returned by the governor, John Penn, who refused to give it his assent.

"Thus the Southern Colonies, as far as was possible, besides giving their assent to the Association of the Congress by the signatures of their delegates to that compact, each, in their several Congresses and Conventions, separately expressed their approval of it, and their determination to support it."

The articles of the Continental Association were not allowed to remain a dead letter. The enforcement of the rules was intrusted to committees in the several Colonies. The action of one of these committees, in the case of the violation of the second article by Mr. John Brown, a merchant of Norfolk, in Virginia, is seen in the following address:—

“‘TO THE FREEMEN OF VIRGINIA’:

“‘COMMITTEE CHAMBER, NORFOLK, March 6, 1775.

Continental
Associa-
tion.

“‘Trusting to your sure resentment against the enemies of your country, we, the committee, elected by ballot for the Borough of Norfolk, hold up for your just indignation Mr. John Brown, merchant of this place.

“‘On Thursday, the 2d of March, this committee were informed of the arrival of the brig Fanny, Capt. Watson, with a number of slaves for Mr. Brown; and, upon inquiry, it appeared they were shipped from Jamaica as his property, and on his account; that he had taken great pains to conceal their arrival from the knowledge of the committee; and that the shipper of the slaves, Mr. Brown’s correspondent, and the captain of the vessel, were all fully apprised of the Continental prohibition against that article.

“‘From the whole of this transaction, therefore, we, the committee for Norfolk Borough, do give it as our unanimous opinion, that the said John Brown has wilfully and perversely violated the Continental Association to which he had with his own hand subscribed obedience; and that, agreeable to the eleventh article, we are bound forthwith to publish the truth of the case, to the end that all such foes to the rights of British America may be publicly known and universally contemned as the enemies of American liberty, and that every person may henceforth break off all dealings with him.’

“This decision of the Norfolk Committee,” continues Mr. Force, “on the importation of the slaves by Mr. Brown, in violation of the Continental Association, told the whole story as to who were, and who were not, in favor of continuing it. The importers of the negroes were the supporters of the Crown; the importation was opposed by the friends of the Colonies.”—*Notes on Lord Mahon’s History of the American Declaration of Independence*, pp. 43–46.

Lord
Mahon’s
error.

Lord Mahon’s error arose from applying to “the Southern Colonies” in general the remarks of Mr. Jefferson (“Writings,” vol. i. p. 19) relating to the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia. In the same passage in which these Colonies are mentioned with discredit, the pro-slavery men at the North, whose mercenary spirit was to be met, are

equally censured. Still, there cannot be any doubt that the prevailing sentiment of the *people* at the South, as well as at the North, was decidedly opposed to slavery. The evil was almost universally regarded as temporary, and no one openly advocated its perpetuation.

Before passing from the consideration of the Declaration of Independence, let us look, for a moment, at the practical interpretation of its language, as furnished by the early legislation of some of the States.

The declaration that all men are born equal, and that they possess the unalienable right of *liberty*, was re-affirmed by several of the States, and adopted as a part of their Constitutions. The action of our own Commonwealth, in this respect, was clearly shown by the Rev. Dr. Belknap, the founder of our Society, in his "Answers to Queries respecting Slavery," proposed to him by the Hon. Judge Tucker of Virginia, January 24th, 1795.

"The present Constitution of Massachusetts was established in 1780. The first article of the Declaration of Rights asserts that 'all men are born free and equal.' This was inserted not merely as a moral or political truth, but with a particular view to establish the liberation of the negroes on a general principle; and so it was understood by the people at large; but some doubted whether this were sufficient." Rev. Dr. Belknap.

"Many of the blacks, taking advantage of the *public opinion* and of this general assertion in the Bill of Rights, asked their freedom, and obtained it. Others took it without leave. Some of the aged and infirm thought it most prudent to continue in the families where they had always been well used, and experience has proved that they acted right.

"In 1781, at the Court in Worcester County, an indictment was found against a white man for assaulting, beating, and imprisoning a black. He was tried at the Supreme Judicial Court in 1783. His defence was, that the black was his slave; and that the beating, &c. was the necessary restraint and correction of the master. This was answered by citing the aforesaid clause in the Declaration of Rights. The judges and jury were of opinion, that he had no right to beat or

imprison the negro. He was found guilty, and fined forty shillings. This decision was a mortal wound to slavery in Massachusetts."—*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, First Series, vol. iv. p. 203.

The Hon. Emory Washburn, in his admirable paper on the "Extinction of Slavery in Massachusetts," communicated to our Society at the regular meeting in May, 1857, and published in the Proceedings for that year, gives a pretty full account of this trial.

Brief
of Mr.
Lincoln.

The brief used by Mr. Lincoln, the counsel for the negro, was placed in the hands of Mr. Washburn by the son of the eminent counsellor, our venerable and respected associate, the Hon. Levi Lincoln of Worcester, for many years Governor of this Commonwealth. Every word of it, and of the whole paper of Mr. Washburn, ought to be carefully read and pondered at the present time. A few extracts will give some idea of the character of the arguments so effectively used at that period, when the authors of the Declaration of Independence and the founders of the Republic were still struggling to establish our Government on the firm basis of equal and eternal justice. A solemn appeal to the "*higher law*" was not, in those days, denounced as moral or political heresy.

"When a fellow-subject is restrained of his liberty, it is an attack upon every other subject; and every one has a right to aid him in regaining his liberty.

"What, in this respect, are to be the consequences of your verdict? Will it not be tidings of great joy to this community? It is virtually opening the prison-doors, and letting the oppressed go free!

"Could they expect to triumph in their struggle with Great Britain, and become free themselves, until they let those go free who were under them? Were they not acting like Pharaoh and the Egyptians, if they refused to set these free?

"But the plaintiff insists that it is not true, as stated in the Constitution, that all men are born free; for children are born and placed under the power and control of their parents.

"This may be. But they are not born as slaves: they are under

the power of their parents, to be nursed and nurtured and educated for their good. Brief
of Mr.
Lincoln.

"And the black child is born as much a free child in this sense as if it were white.

"In making out that negroes are the property of their masters, the counsel for the plaintiff speak of lineage, and contend that the children of slaves must be slaves in the same way that, because our first parents fell, we all fell with them.

"But are not all mankind born in the same way? Are not their bodies clothed with the same kind of flesh? Was not the same breath of life breathed into all? We are under the same gospel dispensation, have one common Saviour, inhabit the same globe, die in the same manner; and though the white man may have his body wrapped in fine linen, and his attire may be a little more decorated, there all distinction of man's making ends. We all sleep on the same level in the dust. We shall all be raised by the sound of one common trumpet, calling unto all that are in their graves, without distinction, to arise; shall be arraigned at one common bar; shall have one common Judge, and be tried by one common jury, and condemned or acquitted by one common law, — by the gospel, the perfect law of liberty.

"This cause will then be tried again, and your verdict will there be tried. Therefore, gentlemen of the jury, let me conjure you to give such a verdict now as will stand this test, and be approved by your own minds in the last moments of your existence, and by your Judge at the last day.

"It will then be tried by the laws of reason and revelation.

"Is it not a law of nature, that all men are equal and free?

"Is not the law of nature the law of God?

"Is not the law of God, then, against slavery?

"If there is no law of man establishing it, there is no difficulty. If there is, then the great difficulty is to determine which law you ought to obey; and, if you shall have the same ideas as I have of present and future things, you will obey the former.

"The worst that can happen to you for disobeying the former is the destruction of the body; for the last, that of your souls." — *Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1855-58, pp. 198-201.

Other contemporary documents might be cited to show how such language as that used in the Declaration of Inde-

pendence was interpreted by the legislative and legal action of the day. I will only give the first article in the Constitution of Vermont:—

Constitu-
tion of
Vermont.

“All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent, and inalienable rights; among which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety: *therefore* no male person, born in this country or brought from over sea, ought to be holden by law to serve any person as a servant, slave, or apprentice, after he arrives to the age of twenty-one years; nor female, in like manner, after she arrives to the age of eighteen years; unless they are bound by their own consent after they arrive to such age, or bound by the law for the payment of debts, damages, fines, costs, or the like.”

The articles of Confederation — which constituted the Law of the Land from the time of their passage in 1778 to the adoption of the Federal Constitution — recognized and granted to free negroes the same privileges of citizenship which belonged to white inhabitants. The fourth article is as follows:—

Free
negroes
regarded as
citizens.

“ART. 4. — The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States — paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted — shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof, respectively; provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State from any other State, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided, also, that no imposition, duty, or restriction, shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them.” — *Elliot's Debates*, vol. i. p. 79.

It was not by accident or oversight that negroes were included in the phrase “free inhabitants”; for, when this arti-

cle was under consideration, the delegates from South Carolina moved to amend, by inserting between the words "free" and "inhabitants" the word "*white*." The proposed amendment was lost; *only two* States voting in the affirmative.

In the ninth article, the word "white" was retained. The State of New Jersey, although a slaveholding State, objected to this, and made a representation to Congress on the subject; an extract from which is pertinent here:—

"The ninth article also provides that the requisition for the land forces, to be furnished by the several States, shall be proportioned to the number of *white* inhabitants in each. In the act of Independence, we find the following declaration: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endued by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Of this doctrine it is not a very remote consequence, that all the inhabitants of every society, be the color of their complexion what it may, are bound to promote the interest thereof, according to their respective abilities. They ought, therefore, to be brought into the account, on this occasion. But admitting necessity or expediency to justify the refusal of liberty, in certain circumstances, to persons of a particular color, we think it unequal to reckon upon such in this case. Should it be improper, for special local reasons, to admit them in arms for the defence of the nation, yet we conceive the proportion of forces to be embodied ought to be fixed according to the whole number of inhabitants in the State, from whatever class they may be raised. If the whole number of inhabitants in a State, whose inhabitants are all whites, both those who are called into the field and those who remain to till the ground and labor in mechanical arts and otherwise, are reckoned in the estimate for striking the proportion of forces to be furnished by that State, ought even a part of the latter description to be left out in another? As it is of indispensable necessity, in every war, that a part of the inhabitants be employed for the uses of husbandry and otherwise at home, while others are called into the field, there must be the same propriety that owners of a different color, who are employed for this purpose in one State, while *whites* are employed for the same purpose in another, be reckoned in the account of the inhabitants in the present instance." — *Elliot's Debates*, vol. i. p. 89.

New Jersey
objects to
the omis-
sion of
negroes.

Opinions
of the
Founders
of the Re-
public.

The opinions of the founders of the Republic respecting the slavery and the citizenship of negroes, as expressed in some of the most important of their public acts, from the commencement to the close of their struggle for National Independence, and during the period of the Confederation, may be gathered from the documents already cited. They had proclaimed to the world the Universal Magna Charta which the Creator and Governor of men had granted to his subjects. This charter of natural and unalienable rights had been timidly read and faintly spoken, by now and then a friend of liberty, in earlier times. Our patriot Fathers were the first boldly to publish it to "mankind"; to adopt these "self-evident truths" as their National Creed; and, "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the universe for the rectitude of their intentions," to announce their solemn purpose of establishing a Government, with these principles for its chief cornerstone.

With such principles and motives to stimulate their patriotism and nerve their courage, they could not fail. The mighty power of the mother-country was impotent when wielded against the cause of Liberty. The Independence of the United States was acknowledged by Great Britain, and we took our place among the nations of the earth.

The Articles of Confederation served their purpose during the war, but were found inadequate to the growing wants of the Government. A Convention was accordingly called, to meet in Philadelphia on the second Monday in May in 1787, to frame a Constitution.

Before considering particularly the language of the *Constitution*, "the palladium of our liberties," let us look for a moment at some of the men to whom was intrusted this important work, and see with what minds they came to the performance of the duty assigned them.

'Among the delegates, we find the names of George Washington of Virginia, and Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania.

The former was unanimously elected President of the Convention. Dr. Franklin was the only man who could have been thought of as a competitor for the place. He was to have made the nomination of Washington: but, owing to the state of the weather and of his health, he was confined to his house; and his colleague, Robert Morris, in behalf of the delegation from Pennsylvania, proposed "George Washington, Esq., late Commander-in-chief," for President of the Convention.

Opinions
of the
Founders
of the Re-
public.

The character and position of these two pre-eminent patriots, from different States, one a slave-holder and the other not, give the greatest weight to their opinions. They have both left distinct records of their views on the subject of slavery.

Though, by inheritance and other circumstances entirely beyond his control, Washington found himself a slave-holder, yet he never defended the institution of slavery, or desired its perpetuity. On the contrary, we find, that, before he had drawn his sword in defence of the independence of his country, he had uttered his testimony against slavery in the fullest manner; and, through his whole life, his desire to clear himself and his country from the foul blot was sincere and constant.

It had become quite common, during the year preceding the commencement of hostilities between the colonists and the mother-country, for the people to meet in their respective counties or towns, to express, through addresses and resolutions, their sentiments and views respecting the condition of affairs. Such a meeting was held on the 18th of July, 1774, at the Fairfax County Court House, in Virginia; and a series of twenty-four resolutions, prepared by a Committee of which Washington was chairman, was adopted.

Three of these resolutions are here given:—

"17. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that, during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies on this continent; and we take this

Fairfax
County
Resolves.

Fairfax
County
Resolves.

opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes to see an entire stop for ever put to such a wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade. . . .

"21. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that this and the other associating colonies should break off all trade, intercourse, and dealings with that colony, province, or town, which shall decline, or refuse to agree to, the plan which shall be adopted by the General Congress. . . .

"24. *Resolved*, That George Washington and Charles Broadwater, lately elected our representatives to serve in the General Assembly, be appointed to attend the Convention at Williamsburg on the first day of August next, and present these resolves, as the sense of the people of this county upon the measures proper to be taken in the present alarming and dangerous situation of America."

Respecting these resolutions, Mr. Sparks observes:—

"The draught, from which the resolves are printed, I find among Washington's papers, in the handwriting of George Mason, by whom they were probably drawn up; yet, as they were adopted by the Committee of which Washington was chairman, and reported by him as moderator of the meeting, they may be presumed to express his opinions, formed on a perfect knowledge of the subject, and after cool deliberation. This may indeed be inferred from his letter to Mr. Bryan Fairfax, in which he intimates a doubt only as to the article favoring the idea of a further petition to the king. He was opposed to such a step, believing enough had been done in this way already; but he yielded the point in tenderness to the more wavering resolution of his associates.

"These resolves are framed with much care and ability, and exhibit the question then at issue, and the state of public feeling, in a manner so clear and forcible as to give them a special claim to a place in the present work, in addition to the circumstance of their being the matured views of Washington at the outset of the great Revolutionary struggle in which he was to act so conspicuous a part. . . .

"Such were the opinions of Washington, and his associates in Virginia, at the beginning of the Revolutionary contest. The seventeenth resolve merits attention, from the pointed manner in which it condemns the slave-trade."—*Sparks's Washington*, vol. ii. pp. 488, 494, 495.

Washington not only condemned the slave-trade, but expressed in the most decided terms his disapprobation of domestic slavery. He discountenanced the interference of non-slaveholders in attempting to liberate slaves without the consent of their masters; but at the same time, in a letter on the subject to Robert Morris, 12th April, 1786, he was careful to add:—

“I hope it will not be conceived from these observations that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people, who are the subject of this letter, in slavery. I can only say, that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see some plan adopted for the abolition of it: but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which this can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting.” — *Sparks's Washington*, vol. ix. p. 159.

On the 9th of September of this same year, Washington wrote to Mr. John F. Mercer, of Maryland:—

“I never mean, unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase; it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law.” — *Ibid.*

That Washington believed his wishes with regard to the abolition of slavery would at no distant day be realized, is evident from a letter to Sir John Sinclair, 11th December, 1796:—

“The present prices of lands in Pennsylvania are higher than they are in Maryland and Virginia, although they are not of superior quality; [among other reasons] because there are laws here for the gradual abolition of slavery, which neither of the two States above mentioned have at present, but which nothing is more certain than they must have, and at a period not remote.” — *Sparks's Washington*, vol. xii. p. 326.

Lafayette, the bosom friend, who shared so fully the confidence and sympathy of Washington, was in frequent correspondence with him on the subject of slavery.

No sooner had hostilities ceased, than he set about devising some practical plan for ridding the country, which his valor had helped to free from the yoke, of British oppression, of an evil which he declared to be "a crime much blacker than any African face."

On the 5th of February, 1783, Lafayette writes:—

Lafayette. "Now, my dear General, that you are going to enjoy some ease and quiet, permit me to propose a plan to you, which might become greatly beneficial to the black part of mankind. Let us unite in purchasing a small estate, where we may try the experiment to free the negroes, and use them only as tenants. Such an example as yours might render it a general practice; and, if we succeed in America, I will cheerfully devote a part of my time to render the method fashionable in the West Indies. If it be a wild scheme, I had rather be mad in this way, than to be thought wise in the other task." — *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 547.

To this letter Washington replies, April 5th, 1783:—

Washington.

"The scheme, my dear Marquis, which you propose as a precedent to encourage the emancipation of the black people in this country from that state of bondage in which they are held, is a striking evidence of the benevolence of your heart. I shall be happy to join you in so laudable a work, but will defer going into a detail of the business till I have the pleasure of seeing you." — *Sparks's Washington*, vol. viii. pp. 414, 415.

Three years later, and after Lafayette had put his plan into practice, Washington wrote to him in a tone of mingled approval of what he had done, and despondency as to any immediate action on the subject in this country:—

"MOUNT VERNON, 10th May, 1786.

"The benevolence of your heart, my dear Marquis, is so conspicuous upon all occasions, that I never wonder at any fresh proofs of it; but your late purchase of an estate in the colony of Cayenne, with a view of emancipating the slaves on it, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country! But I despair

of seeing it. Some petitions were presented to the Assembly, at its last session, for the abolition of slavery; but they could scarcely obtain a reading. To set the slaves afloat at once, would, I really believe, be productive of much inconvenience and mischief; but by degrees it certainly might, and assuredly ought to be effected, and that, too, by legislative authority." — *Sparks's Washington*, vol. ix. pp. 163, 164.

The following note on this subject is added by Mr. Sparks:

"In a remarkable and very interesting letter, written by Lafayette in the prison of Magdeburg [March 15, 1793, to the Princess d'Hénin], he said, 'I know not what disposition has been made of my plantation at Cayenne; but I hope Madame de Lafayette will take care that the negroes, who cultivate it, shall preserve their liberty.'"

To John Adams, also, Lafayette wrote from Paris in 1786:

"In the cause of my black brethren, I feel myself warmly interested, and most decidedly side, so far as respects them, against the white part of mankind. Whatever be the complexion of the enslaved, it does not, in my opinion, alter the complexion of the crime which the enslaver commits, — a crime much blacker than any African face. It is to me a matter of great anxiety and concern, to find that this trade is sometimes perpetrated under the flag of liberty, our dear and noble stripes, to which virtue and glory have been constant standard-bearers." — *Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. viii. p. 376.

The opinions with regard to slavery which Washington held before the adoption of the Federal Constitution were never relinquished. Only two years before he died (as we learn from Mr. Irving, who had the original letter before him), he said, writing to his nephew, Lawrence Lewis, "I wish from my soul that the Legislature of this State could see the policy of a gradual abolition of slavery. It might prevent much future mischief."

"On opening the will which he had handed to Mrs. Washington shortly before his death, it was found to have been carefully drawn up by himself in the preceding July; and, by an act in conformity with his whole career, one of its first provisions directed the emancipation of his slaves on the decease of his wife. It had long been his earnest

Washington's Will.

wish, that the slaves held by him *in his own right* should receive their freedom during his life; but he had found that it would be attended with insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriage with the 'dower negroes,' whom it was not in his power to manumit under the tenure by which they were held.

"With provident benignity, he also made provision in his will for such as were to receive their freedom under this devise, but who, from age, bodily infirmities, or infancy, might be unable to support themselves; and he expressly forbade, under any pretence whatsoever, the sale or transportation out of Virginia, of any slave of whom he might die possessed. Though born and educated a slave-holder, this was all in consonance with feelings, sentiments, and principles which he had long entertained." — *Irving's Washington*, vol. v. pp. 316, 317.

The second item of that long will, coming immediately after the bequest to his "dearly beloved wife," is here given: —

"*Item.* — Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all slaves whom I hold *in my own right* shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriage with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences to the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them. And whereas, among those who will receive freedom according to this devise, there may be some, who, from old age or bodily infirmities, and others, who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire, that all who come under the first and second description shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or, if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The negroes thus bound, are (by their masters or mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia providing for the support of orphan and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or

transportation out of the said Commonwealth, of any slave I may die ^{Washington's Will.} possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And I do, moreover, most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors hereafter named, or the survivors of them, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support, as long as there are subjects requiring it; not trusting to the uncertain provision to be made by individuals. And to my mulatto man, *William*, calling himself *William Lee*, I give immediate freedom; or, if he should prefer it (on account of the accidents which have befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking or of any active employment), to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so: in either case, however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars, during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and clothes he has been accustomed to receive, if he chooses the last alternative; but in full with his freedom, if he prefers the first. And this I give him as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the revolutionary war."—*Sparks's Washington*, vol. xii. pp. 569–570.

Franklin's opinions on the subject of slavery agreed sub- ^{Franklin.}stantially with those entertained by Washington; and, like "the Father of his Country," this great philosopher, patriot, and statesman not only denounced negro slavery when struggling for national liberty, but left, among his last legacies to his countrymen, the most emphatic testimony against the institution.

In a letter to John Wright of London, he gives an account of the early endeavors of the Friends in this country to abolish slavery; and, at the same time, expresses incidentally his own views on the subject:—

"I wish success to your endeavors for obtaining an abolition of the ^{Early efforts against} slave-trade. The epistle from your Yearly Meeting, for the year ¹⁷⁵⁸, was not the *first sowing* of the good seed you mention; for I ^{slavery.} find, by an old pamphlet in my possession, that George Keith, near a

Early
efforts
against
slavery.

hundred years since, wrote a paper against the practice, said to be 'given forth by the appointment of the meeting held by him at Philip James's house, in the city of Philadelphia, about the year 1693'; wherein a strict charge was given to Friends, 'that they should set their negroes at liberty, after some reasonable time of service, &c. &c.' And, about the year 1728 or 1729, I myself printed a book for Ralph Sandysford, another of your Friends in this city, against keeping negroes in slavery; two editions of which he distributed gratis. And, about the year 1736, I printed another book on the same subject, for Benjamin Lay, who also professed being one of your Friends; and he distributed the books chiefly among them. By these instances, it appears that the seed was indeed sown in the good ground of your profession, though much earlier than the time you mention; and its springing up to effect at last, though so late, is some confirmation of Lord Bacon's observation, that *a good motion never dies*; and it may encourage us in making such, though hopeless of their taking immediate effect." — *Sparks's Franklin*, vol. x. p. 403.

In a letter to Dean Woodward, dated London, April 10th, 1773, Dr. Franklin says, —

Franklin. . . . "I have since had the satisfaction to learn that a disposition to abolish slavery prevails in North America; that many of the Pennsylvanians have set their slaves at liberty; and that even the Virginia Assembly have petitioned the king for permission to make a law for preventing the importation of more into that Colony. This request, however, will probably not be granted, as their former laws of that kind have always been repealed, and as the interest of a few merchants here has more weight with Government than that of thousands at a distance." — *Sparks's Franklin*, vol. viii. p. 42.

In 1789 was issued an address to the public, bearing the signature of this venerable man, then in his eighty-fourth year, the last of his life. This address is here reprinted entire: —

"AN ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

"*From the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage.*

"It is with peculiar satisfaction we assure the friends of humanity, that, in prosecuting the design of our association, our endeavors have proved successful, far beyond our most sanguine expectations.

"Encouraged by this success, and by the daily progress of that Franklin. luminous and benign spirit of liberty which is diffusing itself throughout the world, and humbly hoping for the continuance of the divine blessing on our labors, we have ventured to make an important addition to our original plan; and do therefore earnestly solicit the support and assistance of all who can feel the tender emotions of sympathy and compassion, or relish the exalted pleasure of beneficence.

"Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature, that its very extirpation, if not performed with solicitous care, may sometimes open a source of serious evils.

"The unhappy man, who has long been treated as a brute animal, too frequently sinks beneath the common standard of the human species. The galling chains that bind his body do also fetter his intellectual faculties, and impair the social affections of his heart. Accustomed to move like a mere machine, by the will of a master, reflection is suspended; he has not the power of choice; and reason and conscience have but little influence over his conduct, because he is chiefly governed by the passion of fear. He is poor and friendless; perhaps worn out by extreme labor, age, and disease.

"Under such circumstances, freedom may often prove a misfortune to himself, and prejudicial to society.

"Attention to emancipated black people, it is therefore to be hoped, will become a branch of our national police; but, as far as we contribute to promote this emancipation, so far that attention is evidently a serious duty incumbent on us, and which we mean to discharge to the best of our judgment and abilities.

"To instruct, to advise, to qualify those who have been restored to freedom, for the exercise and enjoyment of civil liberty; to promote in them habits of industry; to furnish them with employments suited to their age, sex, talents, and other circumstances; and to procure their children an education calculated for their future situation in life,—these are the great outlines of the annexed plan, which we have adopted, and which we conceive will essentially promote the public good, and the happiness of these our hitherto too much neglected fellow-creatures.

"A plan so extensive cannot be carried into execution without considerable pecuniary resources, beyond the present ordinary funds of the Society. We hope much from the generosity of enlightened and benevolent freemen, and will gratefully receive any donations or

Franklin. subscriptions for this purpose which may be made to our Treasurer, James Starr, or to James Pemberton, Chairman of our Committee of Correspondence.

"Signed by order of the Society,

"B. FRANKLIN, *President*.

"PHILADELPHIA, 9th of November, 1789."

The last public act of Dr. Franklin was the signing, as President of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, of the following memorial to Congress:—

Memorial
to Con-
gress, 1790.

"The memorial respectfully sheweth,—

"That, from a regard for the happiness of mankind, an association was formed several years since in this State, by a number of her citizens, of various religious denominations, for promoting the abolition of slavery, and for the relief of those unlawfully held in bondage. A just and acute conception of the true principles of liberty, as it spread through the land, produced accessions to their numbers, many friends to their cause, and a legislative co-operation with their views, which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, have been successfully directed to the relieving from bondage a large number of their fellow-creatures of the African race. They have also the satisfaction to observe, that, in consequence of that spirit of philanthropy and genuine liberty which is generally diffusing its beneficial influence, similar institutions are forming at home and abroad.

"That mankind are all formed by the same Almighty Being, alike objects of his care, and equally designed for the enjoyment of happiness, the Christian religion teaches us to believe, and the political creed of Americans fully coincides with the position. Your memorialists, particularly engaged in attending to the distresses arising from slavery, believe it their indispensable duty to present this subject to your notice. They have observed, with real satisfaction, that many important and salutary powers are vested in you for 'promoting the welfare and securing the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States'; and as they conceive that these blessings ought rightfully to be administered, without distinction of color, to all descriptions of people, so they indulge themselves in the pleasing expectation, that nothing which can be done for the relief of the unhappy objects of their care, will be either omitted or delayed.

"From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the portion, and is still the birth-right, of all men; and influenced by the strong

ties of humanity, and the principles of their institution, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavors to loosen the bands of slavery, and promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. Under these impressions, they earnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you will be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone, in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who, amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection; that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people; that you will promote mercy and justice towards this distressed race; and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men.

“ BENJ. FRANKLIN, *President*.

“ PHILADELPHIA, February 8, 1790.”

(Annals of Congress, vol. ii. p. 1197.)

The memorial occasioned a debate, in which some of the members attempted to justify slavery. This gave rise to a characteristic paper, communicated by Dr. Franklin to the “Federal Gazette” of March 25, 1790, and dated only twenty-four days before his death. By way of parody, he exposes the absurdity of the reasoning adopted by those who opposed the memorial:—

“ *To the Editor of the ‘Federal Gazette.’*

“ MARCH 23, 1790.

“ SIR,—Reading last night in your excellent paper the speech of Mr. Jackson in Congress against their meddling with the affair of slavery, or attempting to mend the condition of the slaves, it put me in mind of a similar one, made about one hundred years since, by Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, a member of the Divan of Algiers, which may be seen in Martin’s Account of his Consulship, anno 1687. It was against granting the petition of the sect called *Erika*, or Purists, who prayed for the abolition of piracy and slavery as being unjust. Mr. Jackson does not quote it: perhaps he has not seen it. If, therefore, some of its reasonings are to be found in his eloquent speech, it may only show that men’s interests and intellects operate, and are operated on, with surprising similarity in all countries and climates, whenever they are under similar circumstances. The African’s speech, as translated, is as follows:—

Franklin's
parody on
a pro-
slavery
speech.

“ ‘ *Allah Bismillah, &c. God is great, and Mahomet is his Prophet.*

“ ‘ Have these Erika considered the consequences of granting their petition? If we cease our cruises against the Christians, how shall we be furnished with the commodities their countries produce, and which are so necessary for us? If we forbear to make slaves of their people, who, in this hot climate, are to cultivate our lands? Who are to perform the common labors of our city, and in our families? Must we not then be our own slaves? And is there not more compassion and more favor due to us as Mussulmen than to these Christian dogs? We have now above fifty thousand slaves in and near Algiers. This number, if not kept up by fresh supplies, will soon diminish, and be gradually annihilated. If we, then, cease taking and plundering the infidel ships, making slaves of the seamen and passengers, our lands will become of no value for want of cultivation; the rents of houses in the city will sink one-half; and the revenue of government, arising from its share of prizes, be totally destroyed. And for what? To gratify the whims of a whimsical sect, who would have us not only forbear making more slaves, but even manumit those we have.

“ ‘ But who is to indemnify their masters for the loss? Will the State do it? Is our treasury sufficient? Will the Erika do it? Can they do it? Or would they, to do what they think justice to the slaves, do a greater injustice to the owners? And, if we set our slaves free, what is to be done with them? Few of them will return to their countries; they know too well the greater hardships they must there be subject to; they will not embrace our holy religion; they will not adopt our manners; our people will not pollute themselves by intermarrying with them. Must we maintain them as beggars in our streets, or suffer our properties to be the prey of their pillage? For men accustomed to slavery will not work for a livelihood when not compelled. And what is there so pitiable in their present condition? Were they not slaves in their own countries?

“ ‘ Are not Spain, Portugal, France, and the Italian States, governed by despots, who hold all their subjects in slavery, without exception? Even England treats its sailors as slaves: for they are, whenever the government pleases, seized, and confined in ships of war; condemned not only to work, but to fight, for small wages, or a mere subsistence, not better than our slaves are allowed by us. Is their condition, then, made worse by their falling into our hands? No: they have only exchanged one slavery for another, and I may say, a

better; for here they are brought into a land where the sun of Islamism gives forth its light, and shines in full splendor; and they have an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the true doctrine, and thereby saving their immortal souls. Those who remain at home have not that happiness. Sending the slaves home, then, would be sending them out of light into darkness.

Franklin's
parody on
a pro-
slavery
speech.

“ ‘I repeat the question, What is to be done with them? I have heard it suggested that they may be planted in the wilderness, where there is plenty of land for them to subsist on, and where they may flourish as a free State; but they are, I doubt, too little disposed to labor without compulsion, as well as too ignorant to establish a good government, and the wild Arabs would soon molest and destroy or again enslave them. While serving us, we take care to provide them with every thing, and they are treated with humanity. The laborers in their own country are, as I am well informed, worse fed, lodged, and clothed.

“ ‘The condition of most of them is, therefore, already mended, and requires no further improvement. Here their lives are in safety. They are not liable to be impressed for soldiers, and forced to cut one another's Christian throats, as in the wars of their own countries. If some of the religious mad bigots, who now tease us with their silly petitions, have, in a fit of blind zeal, freed their slaves, it was not generosity, it was not humanity, that moved them to the action: it was from the conscious burthen of a load of sins, and a hope, from the supposed merits of so good a work, to be excused from damnation.

“ ‘How grossly are they mistaken to suppose slavery to be disallowed by the Alcoran! Are not the two precepts, to quote no more, ‘*Masters, treat your slaves with kindness; slaves, serve your masters with cheerfulness and fidelity*,’ clear proofs to the contrary? Nor can the plundering of infidels be in that sacred book forbidden, since it is well known from it that God has given the world, and all that it contains, to his faithful Mussulmen, who are to enjoy it of right as fast as they conquer it. Let us, then, hear no more of this detestable proposition,—the manumission of Christian slaves; the adoption of which would, by depreciating our lands and houses, and thereby depriving so many good citizens of their properties, create universal discontent, and provoke insurrections, to the endangering of government, and producing general confusion. I have, therefore, no doubt but this wise council will prefer the comfort and happiness of a whole nation of true believers to the whim of a few Erika, and dismiss their petition.’

Franklin's
parody on
a pro-
slavery
speech.

"The result was, as Martin tells us, that the Divan came to this resolution: 'The doctrine that plundering and enslaving the Christians is unjust, is, at best, *problematical*; but that it is the interest of this State to continue the practice, is clear: therefore let the petition be rejected.'

"And it was rejected accordingly.

"And since like motives are apt to produce in the minds of men like opinions and resolutions, may we not, Mr. Brown, venture to predict, from this account, that the petitions to the Parliament of England for abolishing the slave-trade, to say nothing of other Legislatures, and the debates upon them, will have a similar conclusion? I am, sir, your constant reader and humble servant,

HISTORICUS."

(Sparks's Franklin, vol. ii. pp. 517-521.)

It is not necessary now to produce the opinions of other members of the Convention: some of them expressed their views fully during the debates, and specimens of their speeches will presently be given. But it is not out of place here to inquire whether the leading statesmen of the country at that time, who were not members of the Convention, held opinions substantially the same as those of Washington and Franklin.

John Adams and Thomas Jefferson — among the foremost men in founding the Republic — were, at the time the Convention was held, serving their country abroad; the former as ambassador to England; the latter, to France. The opinions of Mr. Adams on slavery may be briefly given in an extract from a letter written only a few years before his death: —

John
Adams.

"I have, through my whole life, held the practice of slavery in such abhorrence, that I have never owned a negro or any other slave: though I have lived for many years in times when the practice was not disgraceful; when the best men in my vicinity thought it not inconsistent with their character; and when it has cost me thousands of dollars for the labor and subsistence of free men, which I might have saved by the purchase of negroes at times when they were very cheap." — *Works of John Adams*, vol. x. p. 380.

Mr. Jefferson's sentiments before and at the time of the ^{Jefferson.} Declaration of Independence have already been given. They were still more strongly expressed in his "Notes on Virginia," in 1782:—

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual ^{Notes on Virginia.} exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive, either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms; the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one-half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies; destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other! For, if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another; in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavors to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that, of the proprietors of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis,—a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God?—that they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is

Jefferson. among possible events ; that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest. But it is impossible to be temperate, and to pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of history natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, — that of the slave rising from the dust ; his condition mollifying ; the way, I hope, preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, for a total emancipation ; and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation." — *Jefferson's Writings*, vol. viii. pp. 403, 404.

In a letter to Dr. Price, dated at London on the 7th of August, 1785, Mr. Jefferson thus tells him what will be the probable effect of his late pamphlet, in which the abolition of slavery is strenuously urged : —

"From the mouth to the head of the Chesapeake, the bulk of the people will approve it in theory, and it will find a respectable minority ready to adopt it in practice ; a minority, which, for weight and worth of character, preponderates against the greater number, who have not the courage to divest their families of a property, which, however, keeps their conscience unquiet. Northward of the Chesapeake, you may find here and there an opponent to your doctrine, as you may find here and there a robber and murderer ; but in no greater number. In that part of America, there being but few slaves, they can easily disencumber themselves of them ; and emancipation is put into such a train, that in a few years there will be no slaves northward of Maryland. In Maryland, I do not find such a disposition to begin the redress of this enormity, as in Virginia. This is the next State to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression ; a conflict wherein the sacred side is gaining daily recruits, from the influx into office of young men grown, and growing up. These have sucked in the principles of liberty, as it were, with their mothers' milk ; and it is to them I look with anxiety to turn the fate of this question. Be not therefore discouraged. What you have written will do a great deal of good ; and, could you still trouble yourself with our welfare, no man is more able to give aid to the laboring side." — *Jefferson's Writings*, vol. i. p. 377.

While Mr. Jefferson was in France, in 1786, he furnished Jefferson. M. Dêmeunier with many materials for his copious article on the United States, about to appear in the great "Encyclopédie Méthodique"; and he revised the manuscript of the whole article with great care. The following is part of a note to the author, most of which he translated into French, and incorporated in his own work, where it stands as a perpetual record of Mr. Jefferson's sentiments at that time:—

"M. de Meusnier, where he mentions that the slave-law has been passed in Virginia without the clause of emancipation, is pleased to mention, that neither Mr. Wythe nor Mr. Jefferson was present to make the proposition they had meditated: from which, people, who do not give themselves the trouble to reflect or inquire, might conclude hastily, that their absence was the cause why the proposition was not made; and, of course, that there were not, in the Assembly, persons of virtue and firmness enough to propose the clause for emancipation. This supposition would not be true. There were persons there, who wanted neither the virtue to propose nor talents to enforce the proposition, had they seen that the disposition of the Legislature was ripe for it. These worthy characters would feel themselves wounded, degraded, and discouraged by this idea. Mr. Jefferson would therefore be obliged to M. de Meusnier to mention it in some such manner as this: 'Of the two commissioners, who had concerted the amendatory clause for the gradual emancipation of slaves, Mr. Wythe could not be present, he being a member of the judiciary department; and Mr. Jefferson was absent on the legation to France. But there were not wanting, in that Assembly, men of virtue enough to propose, and talents to vindicate, this clause. But they saw that the moment of doing it with success was not yet arrived, and that an unsuccessful effort, as too often happens, would only rivet still closer the chains of bondage, and retard the moment of delivery to this oppressed description of men. What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man, who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and, the next moment, be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose! But we must await with patience the workings of an overruling Provi-

Jefferson. dence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full; when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, — doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and, by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or, at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality.” — *Jefferson's Writings*, vol. ix. pp. 278, 279.

In his “Autobiography,” written only a few years before his death, alluding to the above-mentioned slave-law, he says, —

“The bill on the subject of slaves was a mere digest of the existing laws respecting them, without any intimation of a plan for a future and general emancipation. It was thought better that this should be kept back, and attempted only by way of amendment, whenever the bill should be brought on. The principles of the amendment, however, were agreed on; that is to say, the freedom of all born after a certain day, and deportation at a proper age. But it was found that the public mind would not bear the proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably, and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain look for an example in the Spanish deportation or deletion of the Moors. This precedent would fall far short of our case.” — *Jefferson's Writings*, vol. i. pp. 48, 49.

John Jay. The opinions on slavery of that pure patriot and able statesman, John Jay, the first Chief-Justice of the United-States Supreme Court, appointed by Washington (who so highly appreciated his character and talents, that he tendered him a choice of the offices in his gift), are so well known,

that it is not important to cite here any extended extracts John Jay. from his writings on the subject. Two or three passages from his printed works and his manuscripts will be quite sufficient for my present purpose.

In 1777, Mr. Jay strenuously urged the insertion of an article in the Constitution of the State of New York, adopted in that year, providing for the early abolition of slavery; "so that, in future ages, every human being who breathes the air of this State shall enjoy the privileges of a freeman." — *Flanders's Lives and Times of the Chief Justices*, p. 216.

In 1780, writing from Spain to Egbert Benson, the Attorney-general of New York, Mr. Jay said: —

"An excellent law might be made out of the Pennsylvania one for the gradual abolition of slavery. Till America comes into this measure, her prayers to Heaven for liberty will be impious. This is a strong expression, but it is just. Were I in your Legislature, I would prepare a bill for the purpose with great care; and I would never cease moving it till it became a law, or I ceased to be a member. I believe God governs the world; and I believe it to be a maxim in his as in our court, that those who ask for equity ought to do it." — *Life and Writings of John Jay*, vol. i. 229, 230.

In 1785, Mr. Jay wrote: —

"It is much to be wished that slavery may be abolished. The honor of the States, as well as justice and humanity, in my opinion, loudly call upon them to emancipate these unhappy people. To contend for our own liberty, and to deny that blessing to others, involves an inconsistency not to be excused." — *Idem*, vol. i. p. 231.

In 1786, Mr. Jay drafted a memorial to the Legislature of the State of New York, which commenced with the declaration: —

"Your memorialists, being deeply affected by the situation of those who, although free by the laws of God, are held in slavery by the laws of this State, view with pain and regret the additional miseries which these unhappy people experience from the practice of exporting them, like cattle, to the West Indies and the Southern States."

John Jay. This memorial was signed by John Jay; Alexander Hamilton; Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of the State; James Duane, Mayor of the City of New York; and one hundred and twenty-nine others, including many eminent civilians and clergymen. The Constitution of the Manumission Society, from which this memorial proceeded, declared it to be the duty of Christians to endeavor to enable the slaves "to share equally with us in our civil and religious liberty, to which they are by nature as much entitled as ourselves."

As President of the New-York Manumission Society (an office held by Mr. Jay until his appointment as Chief-Justice, when he resigned it, and Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, was elected in his place), he drafted a public acknowledgment of an anonymous gift to the treasury of the Society, of which the following is an extract:—

"What act of public or private justice and philanthropy can occasion more pleasing emotions in the breasts of Christians, or be more agreeable to HIM who shed his blood for the redemption of men, than such as tend to restore the oppressed to their natural rights, and to raise unfortunate members of the same great family with ourselves from the abject situation of beasts of burthen, bought and sold and worked for the benefit and at the pleasure of persons who were not created more free, more rational, more immortal, nor with more extensive rights and privileges, than they were." — *From the original MS. in the Jay Collection at Bedford, N.Y.*

The candid reader cannot fail to contrast these sentiments of the first Chief-Justice with the assertion of his latest successor, Chief-Justice Taney, that, at the time the Constitution of the United States was formed, the opinion was "*fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race,*" that the negro "*had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.*"

The eminent South-Carolina patriots, Christopher Gadsden and Henry Laurens, have left their testimony on this subject in no ambiguous terms.

Mr. Gadsden was one of the most prominent public servants of the South, both in the Continental and the Colonial Legislatures. In a letter to Fr. S. Johnson, in Connecticut, dated at Charleston, S.C., 16th April, 1766, he says,—

Christopher
Gadsden.

“We are a very weak province, a rich growing one, and of as much importance to Great Britain as any upon the continent; and great part of our weakness (though at the same time 'tis part of our riches) consists in having such a number of slaves amongst us; and we find in our case, according to the general perceptible workings of Providence, where the crime most commonly though slowly, yet surely, draws a similar and suitable punishment, that slavery begets slavery. Jamaica and our West-India Islands demonstrate this observation, which I hope will not be our case now, whatever might have been the consequences had the fatal attempts been delayed a few years longer, when we had drank deeper of the Circean draught, and the measure of our iniquities were filled up.” — *MS. Letter (printed in the Hist. Mag., Sept. 1861, p. 261) in possession of the Hon. George Bancroft.*

Mr. Laurens was for two years President of the Continental Congress, and afterwards appointed minister to Holland. He was a commissioner, with Franklin and Jay, for negotiating a peace with Great Britain.

Henry
Laurens.

Mr. Laurens wrote to his son, from Charleston, S.C., 14th August, 1776:—

“You know, my dear son, I abhor slavery. I was born in a country where slavery had been established by British kings and parliaments, as well as by the laws of that country, ages before my existence. I found the Christian religion and slavery growing under the same authority and cultivation. I nevertheless disliked it. In former days, there was no combating the prejudices of men supported by interest: the day, I hope, is approaching, when, from principles of gratitude as well as justice, every man will strive to be foremost in showing his readiness to comply with the golden rule. Not less than twenty thousand pounds sterling would all my negroes produce, if sold at public auction to-morrow. I am not the man who enslaved them; they are indebted to Englishmen for that favor: nevertheless, I am devising means for manumitting many of them, and for cutting

Henry
Laurens.

off the entail of slavery. Great powers oppose me, — the laws and customs of my country, my own and the avarice of my countrymen. What will my children say if I deprive them of so much estate? These are difficulties, but not insuperable. I will do as much as I can in my time, and leave the rest to a better hand.

“I am not one of those who arrogate the peculiar care of Providence in each fortunate event; nor one of those who dare trust in Providence for defence and security of their own liberty, while they enslave, and wish to continue in slavery, thousands who are as well entitled to freedom as themselves. I perceive the work before me is great. I shall appear to many as a promoter, not only of strange, but of dangerous doctrines: it will therefore be necessary to proceed with caution. You are apparently deeply interested in this affair; but, as I have no doubts concerning your concurrence and approbation, I most sincerely wish for your advice and assistance, and hope to receive both in good time.” — *Collection of the Zenger Club*, pp. 20, 21.

Constitutional
Convention.

Such were the prevailing principles of the people, as expressed by their leading representatives, when the Convention for framing the Federal Constitution assembled in Philadelphia, in May, 1787. It is highly proper that a constant regard should be had to these principles in interpreting the language of the Constitution.

The position and purpose of the Convention were unprecedented. It was the first time in the history of the world that an assemblage of men had been called together, with delegated power from the people, to prepare an instrument which was to establish a Government, and to be the source and test of all their laws.

Some of the delegates to this Convention had been members of the Continental Congress of 1776; and, as was said by John Quincy Adams at the Jubilee of the Constitution in New York, “this act was the complement to the Declaration of Independence; founded upon the same principles, carrying them out into practical execution, and forming with it one entire system of national government.”

The Articles of Confederation proved an unsuccessful experiment. When the exigencies of the war were over, and the Government fully assumed the functions of an independent nation, it was seen that an error had been committed in "the substitution of State sovereignty, instead of the constituent sovereignty of the people, as the foundation of the Revolution and of the Union." It is a significant fact, that, in the Preamble to the Constitution, this departure from the principles of the Declaration of Independence is tacitly recognized, and is rectified by a recurrence to the truth, that to secure the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

This preamble, of only a single sentence, is the key to the Constitution. Without considering and comprehending it, no one should attempt to interpret any of the separate articles of that instrument.

"WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, IN ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, ESTABLISH JUSTICE, INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY, PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENCE, PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE, AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

The Constitution is, and was intended to be, the PEOPLE's document,—the palladium of their liberty. It was to defend and to bless the negro as well as the white man: for negroes had fought side by side with our white soldiers in the common struggle for liberty; and, in several of the States, they, as citizens, had voted for the delegates to the Convention, and afterwards on the adoption of the Constitution.

It was established for the purpose of securing *liberty*; and nothing can be clearer to a careful student of the history of that period, than that the authors of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States, "parts of one consistent whole, founded on one and the same theory

The Con-
stitution
and Sla-
very.

of government," believed and intended, that, under their influence and operation, slavery would soon be abolished.

It had been declared by Lord Mansfield, in the Court of King's Bench, in England, that slavery was "so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law." At the time the Federal Constitution was adopted, there was not, in the State Constitutions, any thing to warrant or justify slavery. Every thing of that kind has come by later amendments. As in the preparation of the Declaration of Independence, so in the formation of the Constitution, the authors did not ignore the existence of slavery. It was an evil that had been forced upon them by Great Britain, against their consent; and was one of the moving causes for the separation from the mother-country. They had, in the most emphatic manner, by resolutions and otherwise, expressed their abhorrence of slavery, and their determination to emancipate the negroes without unnecessary delay. All that the slaveholders asked of the Convention was a *temporary* protection for what they regarded, in one sense, their property, until they could, in their own time and in their own way, bring about this desirable result.

Mr. Pinckney declared, "If the Southern States were let alone, they will probably of themselves stop importations. He would himself, as a citizen of South Carolina, vote for it."

Mr. Sherman observed that "the abolition of slavery seemed to be going on in the United States, and that the good sense of the several States would probably by degrees complete it." Mr. Ellsworth added, — and no one expressed dissent from this opinion, — "Slavery, in time, will not be a speck in our country."

It was an eminent Virginian, Mr. Madison, who declared that "he thought it *wrong* to admit in the Constitution the idea of property in men." That idea was accordingly everywhere scrupulously avoided.

But still, in three separate clauses, the Constitution recog-

nizes the existence of slavery, although it does not permit the word "slave" anywhere to furnish its text.

Constitution of the United States.

"ART. I. SECT. 2. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers; which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.

"ART. I. SECT. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

"ART. IV. SECT. 2. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

In considering these articles in the Convention, the whole subject of slavery was thoroughly discussed. No language of radical reformers in recent times surpasses in severity the honest utterances of the patriots and statesmen who were then assembled. No friendly voice was raised to defend this barbarous crime against humanity. Let us look at some of the speeches.

Debate in the Federal Convention.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, was the member to whom was finally committed the Constitution, to give finish to the style and arrangement of that instrument. He may properly be regarded as the author of its text. In the debate on the 8th of August, 1787, he uses the following language:—

"He never would concur in upholding domestic slavery. It was a nefarious institution. It was the curse of Heaven on the States where it prevailed. Compare the free regions of the Middle States, where a rich and noble cultivation marks the prosperity and happiness of the people, with the misery and poverty which overspread

Gouverneur Morris.

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tion.

Gouver-
neur
Morris.

the barren wastes of Virginia, Maryland, and the other States having slaves. Travel through the whole continent, and you behold the prospect continually varying with the appearance and disappearance of slavery. The moment you leave the Eastern States, and enter New York, the effects of the institution become visible. Passing through the Jerseys, and entering Pennsylvania, every criterion of superior improvement witnesses the change. Proceed southwardly, and every step you take through the great regions of slaves presents a desert, increasing with the increasing proportion of these wretched beings. Upon what principle is it that the slaves shall be computed in the representation? Are they men? Then make them citizens, and let them vote. Are they property? Why, then, is no other property included? The houses in this city (Philadelphia) are worth more than all the wretched slaves who cover the rice-swamps of South Carolina. The admission of slaves into the representation, when fairly explained, comes to this, — that the inhabitant of Georgia and South Carolina, who goes to the coast of Africa, and, in defiance of the most sacred laws of humanity, tears away his fellow-creatures from their dearest connections, and damns them to the most cruel bondage, shall have more votes in a government instituted for the protection of the rights of mankind than the citizen of Pennsylvania or New Jersey, who views with a laudable horror so nefarious a practice. He would add, that domestic slavery is the most prominent feature in the aristocratic countenance of the proposed Constitution. The vassalage of the poor has ever been the favorite offspring of aristocracy. And what is the proposed compensation to the Northern States for a sacrifice of every principle of right, of every impulse of humanity? They are to bind themselves to march their militia for the defence of the Southern States, for their defence against those very slaves of whom they complain. They must supply vessels and seamen in case of foreign attack. The Legislature will have indefinite power to tax them by excises and duties on imports, both of which will fall heavier on them than on the Southern inhabitants; for the bohea tea used by a Northern freeman will pay more tax than the whole consumption of the miserable slave, which consists of nothing more than his physical subsistence and the rag that covers his nakedness. On the other side, the Southern States are not to be restrained from importing fresh supplies of wretched Africans, at once to increase the danger of attack and the difficulty of defence: nay, they are to be encouraged to it by an assurance of having their votes in the National

Government increased in proportion; and are, at the same time, to have their exports and their slaves exempt from all contributions for the public service. Let it not be said that direct taxation is to be proportioned to representation. It is idle to suppose that the General Government can stretch its hand directly into the pockets of the people scattered over so vast a country. They can only do it through the medium of exports, imports, and excises. For what, then, are all the sacrifices to be made? He would sooner submit himself to a tax for paying for all the negroes in the United States than saddle posterity with such a Constitution." — *Madison Papers, Elliot*, vol. v. pp. 392, 393.

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the Federal
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tion.

Mr. Rufus King, of Massachusetts, in the same debate, said: —

"The admission of slaves was a most grating circumstance to his mind, and he believed would be so to a great part of the people of America. He had not made a strenuous opposition to it heretofore, because he had hoped that this concession would have produced a readiness, which had not been manifested, to strengthen the General Government, and to mark a full confidence in it. The report under consideration had, by the tenor of it, put an end to all those hopes. In two great points, the hands of the Legislature were absolutely tied. The importation of slaves could not be prohibited. Exports could not be taxed. Is this reasonable? What are the great objects of the general system? First, defence against foreign invasion; secondly, against internal sedition. Shall all the States, then, be bound to defend each? and shall each be at liberty to introduce a weakness which will render defence more difficult? Shall one part of the United States be bound to defend another part, and that other part be at liberty, not only to increase its own danger, but to withhold the compensation for the burden? If slaves are to be imported, shall not the exports produced by their labor supply a revenue, the better to enable the General Government to defend their masters? There was so much inequality and unreasonableness in all this, that the people of the Northern States could never be reconciled to it. No candid man could undertake to justify it to them. He had hoped that some accommodation would have taken place on this subject; that, at least, a time would have been limited for the importation of slaves. He never could agree to let them be imported without limitation, and then be represented in the National Legislature. In-

Rufus
King.

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deed, he could so little persuade himself of the rectitude of such a practice, that he was not sure he could assent to it under any circumstances. At all events, either slaves should not be represented, or exports should be taxable."

Mr. Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, —

Roger
Sherman.

" Regarded the slave-trade as iniquitous : but, the point of representation having been settled after much difficulty and deliberation, he did not think himself bound to make opposition ; especially as the present article, as amended, did not preclude any arrangement whatever on that point, in another place of the report." — *Madison Papers, Elliot*, vol. v. 391, 392.

Mr. Luther Martin, of Maryland, in the debate, Tuesday, Aug. 21, —

Luther
Martin.

" Proposed to vary Art. 7, Sect. 4, so as to allow a prohibition or tax on the importation of slaves. In the first place, as five slaves are to be counted as three free men in the apportionment of representatives, such a clause would leave an encouragement to this traffic. In the second place, slaves weakened one part of the Union, which the other parts were bound to protect : the privilege of importing them was therefore unreasonable. And, in the third place, it was inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution, and dishonorable to the American character, to have such a feature in the Constitution.

John
Rutledge.

" Mr. RUTLEDGE did not see how the importation of slaves could be encouraged by this section. He was not apprehensive of insurrections, and would readily exempt the other States from the obligation to protect the Southern against them. Religion and humanity had nothing to do with this question : interest alone is the governing principle with nations. The true question at present is, whether the Southern States shall or shall not be parties to the Union. If the Northern States consult their interest, they will not oppose the increase of slaves, which will increase the commodities of which they will become the carriers.

Oliver
Ellsworth.

" Mr. ELLSWORTH was for leaving the clause as it stands. Let every State import what it pleases. The morality or wisdom of slavery are considerations belonging to the States themselves. What enriches a part enriches the whole, and the States are the best judges of their particular interest. The old Confederation had not meddled with this point ; and he did not see any greater necessity for bringing it within the policy of the new one.

" Mr. PINCKNEY. South Carolina can never receive the plan if it prohibits the slave-trade. In every proposed extension of the powers of Congress, that State has expressly and watchfully excepted that of meddling with the importation of negroes. *If the States be all left at liberty on this subject, South Carolina may perhaps, by degrees, do of herself what is wished, as Virginia and Maryland have already done.*"

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tion.

Charles
Pinckney.

" Adjourned.

" WEDNESDAY, Aug. 22.

" *In Convention.* — Art. 7, Sect. 4, was resumed.

" Mr. SHERMAN was for leaving the clause as it stands. He disapproved of the slave-trade; yet, as the States were now possessed of the right to import slaves, as the public good did not require it to be taken from them, and as it was expedient to have as few objections as possible to the proposed scheme of government, he thought it best to leave the matter as we find it. He observed, that *the abolition of slavery seemed to be going on in the United States, and that the good sense of the several States would probably by degrees complete it.* He urged on the Convention the necessity of despatching its business.

Roger
Sherman.

" Col. MASON. This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants. The British Government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. The present question concerns, not the importing States alone, but the whole Union. The evil of having slaves was experienced during the late war. Had slaves been treated as they might have been by the enemy, they would have proved dangerous instruments in their hands. But their folly dealt by the slaves as it did by the Tories. He mentioned the dangerous insurrections of the slaves in Greece and Sicily, and the instructions given by Cromwell to the commissioners sent to Virginia, — to arm the servants and slaves, in case other means of obtaining its submission should fail. Maryland and Virginia, he said, had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly. North Carolina had done the same in substance. All this would be in vain, if South Carolina and Georgia be at liberty to import. The Western people are already calling out for slaves for their new lands; and will fill that country with slaves, if they can be got through South Carolina and Georgia. Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the emigration of whites, who really enrich and strengthen a country. *They produce the most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of*

George
Mason.

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slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities. He lamented that some of our Eastern brethren had, from a lust of gain, embarked in this nefarious traffic. As to the States being in possession of the right to import, this was the case with many other rights, now to be properly given up. He held it essential, in every point of view, that the General Government should have power to prevent the increase of slavery.

Oliver
Ellsworth.

“MR. ELLSWORTH, as he had never owned a slave, could not judge of the effects of slavery on character. He said, however, that, if it was to be considered in a moral light, we ought to go further, and free those already in the country. As slaves also multiply so fast in Virginia and Maryland, that it is cheaper to raise than import them, whilst in the sickly rice-swamps foreign supplies are necessary, if we go no further than is urged, we shall be unjust towards South Carolina and Georgia. Let us not intermeddle. As population increases, poor laborers will be so plenty as to render slaves useless. *Slavery, in time, will not be a speck in our country.* Provision is already made in Connecticut for abolishing it; and the abolition has already taken place in Massachusetts. As to the danger of insurrections from foreign influence, that will become a motive to kind treatment of the slaves.

Charles
Pinckney.

“MR. PINCKNEY. If slavery be wrong, it is justified by the example of all the world. He cited the case of Greece, Rome, and other ancient States; the sanction given by France, England, Holland, and other modern States. In all ages, one-half of mankind have been slaves. *If the Southern States were let alone, they will probably of themselves stop importations. He would himself, as a citizen of South Carolina, vote for it.* An attempt to take away the right, as proposed, will produce serious objections to the Constitution, which he wished to see adopted.

Charles
Cotesworth
Pinckney.

“GEN. PINCKNEY declared it to be his firm opinion, that if himself and all his colleagues were to sign the Constitution, and use their personal influence, it would be of no avail towards obtaining the assent of their constituents. South Carolina and Georgia cannot do without slaves. As to Virginia, she will gain by stopping the importations. Her slaves will rise in value, and she has more than she wants. It would be unequal to require South Carolina and Georgia

to confederate on such unequal terms. He said, the royal assent, before the Revolution, had never been refused to South Carolina as to Virginia. He contended, that the importation of slaves would be for the interest of the whole Union. The more slaves, the more produce to employ the carrying-trade; the more consumption also; and, the more of this, the more revenue for the common treasury. He admitted it to be reasonable, that slaves should be dutied like other imports; but should consider a rejection of the clause as an exclusion of South Carolina from the Union.

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tion.

"Mr. BALDWIN had conceived national objects alone to be before the Convention; not such as, like the present, were of a local nature. Georgia was decided on this point. That State has always hitherto supposed a General Government to be the pursuit of the Central States, who wished to have a vortex for every thing; that her distance would preclude her from equal advantage; and that she could not prudently purchase it by yielding national powers. From this it might be understood in what light she would view an attempt to abridge one of her favorite prerogatives. *If left to herself, she may probably put a stop to the evil.* As one ground for this conjecture, he took notice of the sect of —, which, he said, was a respectable class of people, who carried their ethics beyond the mere *equality of men*, — extending their humanity to the claims of the whole animal creation.

Abraham
Baldwin.

"Mr. WILSON observed, that *if South Carolina and Georgia were themselves disposed to get rid of the importation of slaves in a short time, as had been suggested, they would never refuse to unite because the importation might be prohibited.* As the section now stands, all articles imported are to be taxed. Slaves alone are exempt. This is, in fact, a bounty on that article.

James
Wilson.

"Mr. GERRY thought we had nothing to do with the conduct of the States as to slaves, but ought to be careful not to give any sanction to it.

Elbridge
Gerry.

"Mr. DICKINSON considered it as inadmissible, on every principle of honor and safety, that the importation of slaves should be authorized to the States by the Constitution. The true question was, whether the national happiness would be promoted or impeded by the importation; and this question ought to be left to the National Government, not to the States particularly interested. If England and France permit slavery, slaves are, at the same time, excluded from both those kingdoms. Greece and Rome were made unhappy by

John
Dickinson.

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the Federal
Conven-
tion.

their slaves. He could not believe that the Southern States would refuse to confederate on the account apprehended; especially as the power was not likely to be immediately exercised by the General Government.

"Mr. WILLIAMSON stated the law of North Carolina on the subject; to wit, that it did not directly prohibit the importation of slaves. It imposed a duty of £5 on each slave imported from Africa, £10 on each from elsewhere, and £50 on each from a State licensing manumission. He thought the Southern States could not be members of the Union, if the clause should be rejected; and it was wrong to force any thing down not absolutely necessary, and which any State must disagree to.

"Mr. KING thought the subject should be considered in a political light only. If two States will not agree to the Constitution, as stated on one side, he could affirm with equal belief, on the other, that great and equal opposition would be experienced from the other States. He remarked on the exemption of slaves from duty, whilst every other import was subjected to it, as an inequality that could not fail to strike the commercial sagacity of the Northern and Middle States.

"Mr. LANGDON was strenuous for giving the power to the General Government. He could not, with a good conscience, leave it with the States, who could then go on with the traffic, without being restrained by the opinions here given, *that they will themselves cease to import slaves.*

"Gen. PINCKNEY thought himself bound to declare candidly, that he did not think South Carolina would stop her importations of slaves in any short time; but only stop them occasionally, as she now does. He moved to commit the clause, that slaves might be made liable to an equal tax with other imports; which he thought right, and which would remove one difficulty that had been started.

"Mr. RUTLEDGE. If the Convention thinks that North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia will ever agree to the plan, unless their right to import slaves be untouched, the expectation is vain. The people of those States will never be such fools as to give up so important an interest. He was strenuous against striking out the section, and seconded the motion of Gen. Pinckney for a commitment.

"Mr. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS wished the whole subject to be committed, including the clauses relating to taxes on exports and to a

navigation act. These things may form a bargain among the North-
ern and Southern States.

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Conven-
tion.

"Mr. BUTLER declared, that he never would agree to the power of
taxing exports.

"Mr. SHERMAN said it was better to let the Southern States im-
port slaves than to part with them, if they made that a *sine quâ non*.
He was opposed to a tax on slaves imported, as making the matter
worse, because it implied they were *property*. He acknowledged,
that, if the power of prohibiting the importation should be given to
the General Government, it would be exercised. He thought it would
be its duty to exercise the power.

"Mr. READ was for the commitment, provided the clause concern-
ing taxes on exports should also be committed.

"Mr. SHERMAN observed, that that clause had been agreed to, and
therefore could not be committed.

"Mr. RANDOLPH was for committing, in order that some middle
ground might, if possible, be found. He could never agree to the
clause as it stands. He would sooner risk the Constitution. He
dwelt on the dilemma to which the Convention was exposed. By
agreeing to the clause, it would revolt the Quakers, the Methodists,
and many others in the States having no slaves. On the other hand,
two States might be lost to the Union. Let us then, he said, try the
chance of a commitment."—*Madison Papers, Elliot*, vol. v. pp.
457-461.

Three days later (Saturday, Aug. 25th), the debate on this
subject was resumed, and the Report of the Committee of
Eleven was taken up. It was in the following words:—

"Strike out so much of the fourth section as was referred to the
Committee, and insert 'The migration or importation of such persons
as the several States, now existing, think proper to admit, shall not
be prohibited by the Legislature prior to the year 1800; but a tax or
duty may be imposed on such migration or importation, at a rate not
exceeding the average of the duties laid on imports.'"

"Gen. PINCKNEY moved to strike out the words 'the year eighteen
hundred' as the year limiting the importation of slaves, and to insert
the words 'the year eighteen hundred and eight.'

"Mr. GORHAM seconded the motion.

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the Federal
Conven-
tion.

" Mr. MADISON. Twenty years will produce all the mischief that can be apprehended from the liberty to import slaves. So long a term will be more dishonorable to the American character than to say nothing about it in the Constitution.

" On the motion, which passed in the affirmative, —

" New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, ay, — 7; New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, no, — 4.

" Mr. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS was for making the clause read at once, —

" 'The importation of slaves into North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, shall not be prohibited,' &c.

This, he said, would be most fair, and would avoid the ambiguity by which, under the power with regard to naturalization, the liberty reserved to the States might be defeated. He wished it to be known, also, that this part of the Constitution was a compliance with those States. If the change of language, however, should be objected to by the members from those States, he should not urge it.

" Col. MASON was not against using the term 'slaves,' but against naming North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, lest it should give offence to the people of those States.

" Mr. SHERMAN liked a description better than the terms proposed, which had been declined by the old Congress, and were not pleasing to some people.

" Mr. CLYMER concurred with Mr. Sherman.

" Mr. WILLIAMSON said, that, both in opinion and practice, he was against slavery; but thought it more in favor of humanity, from a view of all circumstances, to let in South Carolina and Georgia on those terms, than to exclude them from the Union.

" Mr. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS withdrew his motion.

" Mr. DICKINSON wished the clause to be confined to the States which had not themselves prohibited the importation of slaves; and, for that purpose, moved to amend the clause so as to read, —

" 'The importation of slaves into such of the States as shall permit the same shall not be prohibited by the Legislature of the United States until the year 1808;' —

which was disagreed to, *nem. con.*

" The first part of the Report was then agreed to, amended as follows : —

“‘The migration or importation of such persons as the several States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Legislature prior to the year 1808.’” Debate in the Federal Convention.

“New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, ay, — 7; New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, no, — 4.” — *Madison Papers, Elliot*, vol. v. pp. 477, 478.

These specimens of the debates are sufficient to show the various shades of opinion as expressed by members of the Convention from different States. The Constitution, with the articles on slavery, as amended and finally adopted by the Federal Convention, was submitted to the people, to be ratified by them through State Conventions of delegates elected for that special purpose. In these State Conventions, the various articles were again thoroughly discussed.

In Massachusetts, the delegates assembled in Boston, Jan. 9th, 1788. It is hardly too much to say, that the fate of the Federal Constitution was to be decided by the action of this State Convention. By the final vote of three hundred and fifty-five members, a majority of only nineteen votes was obtained in its favor; one hundred and eighty-seven being in the affirmative, and one hundred and sixty-eight in the negative. Had the vote been taken without discussion on the first meeting of the members, there can be no doubt that the Constitution would have been rejected by a considerable majority. Massachusetts Convention.

Elbridge Gerry, one of our delegates to the Federal Convention, had declined to sign the Constitution, and addressed a letter to the State Legislature, giving his reasons for so doing. He was invited to take a seat with the delegates in the State Convention. John Hancock and Samuel Adams, the two most eminent members of the State Convention, were both opposed to the adoption of the Constitution. Mr. Hancock, on account of his position and from motives of policy, was elected President; but he excused himself from attending until towards the close of the session, on account of illness. The circumstances connected with the change of purpose on

Massachu-
setts Con-
vention.

the part of the President are related by Professor Parsons in the admirable "Memoir" of his father, Chief-Justice Theophilus Parsons. Amongst the many reasons assigned by the opponents of the Federal Constitution for their desire to defeat its adoption, the articles on the subject of slavery were brought forward. The discussion on this subject deserves our notice.

In the second week of the Convention, (Jan. 17,) the subject of taxation and representation being under debate, "Mr. Wedgery asked, if a boy of six years of age was to be considered as a free person."

The Hon. Rufus King, in answer, said,—

Rufus
King.

"All persons born free were to be considered as freemen; and, to make the idea of taxation by numbers more intelligible, said that five negro children of South Carolina are to pay as much tax as the three governors of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut."

On the same occasion, Judge Dana spoke:—

Francis
Dana.

"In reply to the remark of some gentlemen, that the Southern States were favored in this mode of apportionment, by having five of their negroes set against three persons in the Eastern, the honorable Judge observed, that the negroes of the Southern States work no longer than when the eye of the driver is on them. 'Can,' asked he, 'that land flourish like this, which is cultivated by the hands of free-men? And are not three of these independent freemen of more real advantage to a State than five of those poor slaves?' As a friend to equal taxation, he rejoiced that an opportunity was presented in this Constitution to change this unjust mode of apportionment. 'Indeed,' concluded he, 'from a survey of every part of the Constitution, I think it the best that the wisdom of man could suggest.'"

The discussion was continued; and, on the next day, Thomas Dawes, Esq., expressed his views on the subject:—

Thomas
Dawes.

"Mr. DAWES said, he was sorry to hear so many objections raised against the paragraph under consideration. He thought them wholly unfounded; that the black inhabitants of the Southern States must be considered either as slaves, and as so much property, or in the character of so many free men. If the former, why should they not be wholly

represented? Our own State laws and Constitution would lead us to consider those blacks as free men; and so, indeed, would our own ideas of natural justice. If, then, they are freemen, they might form an equal basis for representation, as though they were all white inhabitants. In either view, therefore, he could not see that the Northern States would suffer, but directly to the contrary. He thought, however, that gentlemen would do well to connect the passage in dispute with another article in the Constitution, that permits Congress, in the year 1808, wholly to prohibit the importation of slaves, and, in the mean time, to impose a duty of ten dollars a head on such blacks as should be imported before that period. Besides, by the new Constitution, every particular State is left to its own option totally to prohibit the introduction of slaves into its own territories. What could the Convention do more? The members of the Southern States, like ourselves, have *their* prejudices. It would not do to abolish slavery by an act of Congress in a moment, and so destroy what our Southern brethren consider as property; *but we may say, that although slavery is not smitten by an apoplexy, yet it has received a mortal wound, and will die of a consumption.*" — *Debates and Proceedings*, pp. 135–139.

From the minutes of the debates, kept by Chief-Justice Parsons, and printed with the last edition of the "*Debates and Proceedings*," we learn that George Cabot on this occasion remarked: "The Southern States have the slave-trade, and are sovereign States. *This Constitution is the best way to get rid of it.*"

During the next week (Friday, Jan. 25), the clause relating to "the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit" was under consideration; when

"Mr. NEAL (from Kittery) went over the ground of objection to this section, on the idea that the slave-trade was allowed to be continued for twenty years. His profession, he said, obliged him to bear witness against any thing that should favor the making merchandise of the bodies of men; and, unless his objection was removed, he could not put his hand to the Constitution. Other gentlemen said, in addition to this idea, that there was not even a provision that the negroes ever shall be free; and

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Neal.

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"Gen. THOMPSON exclaimed: 'Mr. President, Shall it be said, that, after we have established our own independence and freedom, we make slaves of others? O Washington! What a name has he had! How he has immortalized himself! But he holds those in slavery who have as good right to be free as he has. He is still for self; and, in my opinion, his character has sunk fifty per cent.'

General
Thompson.

"On the other side, gentlemen said, that the step taken in this article towards the abolition of slavery was one of the beauties of the Constitution. They observed that, in the Confederation, there was no provision whatever for its ever being abolished: but this Constitution provides that Congress may, after twenty years, totally annihilate the slave-trade; and that, as all the States, except two, have passed laws to this effect, it might reasonably be expected that it would then be done. In the interim, all the States were at liberty to prohibit it.

"SATURDAY, Jan. 26, 1788.

"The debate on the ninth section still continued desultory, and consisted of similar objections and answers thereto as had before been used. Both sides deprecated the slave-trade in the most pointed terms. On one side, it was pathetically lamented by Mr. Nasson, Major Lusk, Mr. Neal, and others, that this Constitution provided for the continuation of the slave-trade for twenty years; on the other, the Hon. Judge Dana, Mr. Adams, and others, rejoiced that a door was now to be opened for the annihilation of this odious, abhorrent practice, in a certain time." — *Debates and Proceedings*, pp. 208, 209.

On Wednesday, Jan. 30, General Heath, who had been detained by indisposition from attending many of the meetings, was present, and participated in the debate. A part of his remarks were as follows:—

General
Heath.

"The paragraph respecting the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, &c., is one of those considered during my absence; and I have heard nothing on the subject, save what has been mentioned this morning. But I think the gentlemen who have spoken have carried the matter rather too far on both sides.

"I apprehend that it is not in our power to do any thing for or against those who are in slavery in the Southern States. No gentleman within these walls detests every idea of slavery more than I do. It is generally detested by the people of this Commonwealth; and I

ardently hope that the time will soon come, when our brethren in the Southern States will view it as we do, and put a stop to it: but to this we have no right to compel them. Two questions naturally arise: *If we ratify the Constitution, shall we do any thing by our act to hold the blacks in slavery? or shall we become partakers of other men's sins? I think, neither of them.* Each State is sovereign and independent to a certain degree; and they have a right, and will regulate their own internal affairs as to themselves appears proper. And shall we refuse to eat or to drink or to be united with those who do not think or act just as we do? Surely not. We are not, in this case, partakers of other men's sins; for in nothing do we voluntarily encourage the slavery of our fellow-men. A restriction is laid on the Federal Government, which could not be avoided and a union take place. The Federal Convention went as far as they could. The migration, or importation, &c., is confined to the States *now existing* only: new States cannot claim it. Congress, by their ordinance for erecting new States, some time since declared that the new States shall be republican, and that there shall be no slavery in them; but, whether those in slavery in the Southern States will be emancipated after the year 1808, I do not pretend to determine: I rather doubt it." — *Debates and Proceedings*, pp. 216–217.

Massachusetts Convention.

One of the longest speeches in the Convention, on the subject of slavery, was made by the Rev. Isaac Backus of Middleborough, on the 4th of February, just before the debates were finally closed. A part of this speech will show its character:—

"Much, Sir, hath been said about the importation of slaves into this country. I believe, that, according to my capacity, no man abhors that wicked practice more than I do, and would gladly make use of all lawful means toward the abolishing of slavery in all parts of the land. But let us consider where we are, and what we are doing. *In the Articles of Confederation, no provision was made to hinder the importation of slaves into any of these States; but a door is now opened hereafter to do it,* and each State is at liberty now to abolish slavery as soon as they please. And let us remember our former connection with Great Britain, from whom many in our land think we ought not to have revolted. How did they carry on the slave-trade? I know that the Bishop of Gloucester, in an annual

Isaac Backus.

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setts Con-
vention.

sermon in London in February, 1766, endeavored to justify their tyrannical claims of power over us by casting the reproach of the slave-trade upon the Americans; but, at the close of the war, the Bishop of Chester, in an annual sermon in February, 1783, ingenuously owned that their nation is the most deeply involved in the guilt of that trade of any nation in the world, and also that they have treated their slaves in the West Indies worse than the French or Spaniards have done theirs. Thus slavery grows more and more odious through the world; and, as an honorable gentleman said some days ago, '*Though we cannot say that slavery is struck with an apoplexy, yet we may hope it will die with a consumption.*'

"The American Revolution was built upon the principle, that all men are born with an equal right to liberty and property, and that officers have no right to any power but what is fairly given them by the consent of the people. And, in the Constitution now proposed to us, a power is reserved to the people constitutionally to reduce every officer again to a private station; and what a guard is this against their invasion of others' rights, or abusing of their power! Such a door is now opened for the establishing of righteous government, and for securing equal liberty, as never was before opened to any people on earth." — *Debates and Proceedings*, pp. 251, 253.

Rejoicing
on the
adoption of
the Consti-
tution.

The final vote on the ratification of the Constitution was taken on the 6th of February, 1788; and resulted, as has been already stated, in the affirmative, by the small majority of nineteen votes. Notwithstanding the strong opposition to it which was manifested whilst the subject was under discussion, there was a general acquiescence in the result. The joy of the people was expressed by enthusiastic public demonstrations. An extract from one of the newspapers of the day will give a good idea of the popular sentiment at the time:—

"The citizens of Boston have ever shown themselves advocates for freedom: therefore, when a motion had obtained, one of the greatest objects of which is 'to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity,' they could not resist the strong impulse they must have had, publicly to testify their gratitude for the pleasing event. Nor have they. On the decision being declared, the bells in

the several public buildings communicated the happy intelligence to every part of the town by a peal, which continued for several hours ; and which has been continued, with short intervals, ever since. The discharge of cannon, and other demonstrations of joy, took place on Wednesday and Thursday ; but it was left to yesterday to produce an exhibition, to which America has never before witnessed an equal, and which has exceeded any thing of the kind Europe can boast of."—*Columbian Centinel*, Feb. 9, 1788.

The published account of the Convention in New Hampshire is very brief and imperfect. The only speech known to have been preserved is here printed entire.

Celebration
in Boston.

New-
Hampshire
Conven-
tion.

The Hon. Joshua Atherton, from Amherst, spoke as follows :—

" Mr. President, I cannot be of the opinion of the honorable gentlemen who last spoke, that this paragraph is either so useful or so inoffensive as they seem to imagine, or that the objections to it are so totally void of foundation. The idea that strikes those, who are opposed to this clause, so disagreeably and so forcibly, is, hereby it is conceived (if we ratify the Constitution) that we become *consenters to*, and *partakers in*, the sin and guilt of this abominable traffic, at least for a certain period, without any positive stipulation that it should even then be brought to an end. We do not behold in it that valuable acquisition so much boasted of by the honorable member from Portsmouth, '*that an end is then to be put to slavery.*' Congress may be as much or more puzzled to put a stop to it then than we are now. The clause has not secured its abolition.

Joshua
Atherton.

" We do not think ourselves under any obligation to perform works of supererogation in the reformation of mankind ; we do not esteem ourselves under any necessity to go to Spain or Italy to suppress the Inquisition of those countries, or of making a journey to the Carolinas to abolish the detestable custom of enslaving the Africans : but, Sir, we will not lend the aid of our ratification to this cruel and inhuman merchandise, not even for a day. There is a great distinction in not taking a part in the most barbarous violation of the sacred laws of God and humanity, and our becoming guaranties for its exercise for a term of years. Yes, Sir, it is our full purpose to wash our hands clear of it ; and however unconcerned spectators we may remain of such predatory infractions of the laws of

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Joshua
Atherton.

our nature, however unfeelingly we may subscribe to the ratification of man-stealing, with all its baneful consequences, yet I cannot but believe, in justice to human nature, that if we reserve the consideration, and bring this claimed power somewhat nearer to our own doors, we shall form a more equitable opinion of its claim to this ratification. Let us figure to ourselves a company of these man-stealers, well equipped for the enterprise, arriving on our coast. They seize and carry off the whole or a part of the inhabitants of the town of Exeter. Parents are taken, and children left; or possibly they may be so fortunate as to have a whole family taken and carried off together by these relentless robbers. What must be their feelings in the hands of their new and arbitrary masters? Dragged at once from every thing they held dear to them; stripped of every comfort of life, like beasts of prey, — they are hurried on a loathsome and distressing voyage to the coast of Africa, or some other quarter of the globe, where the greatest price may await them; and here, if any thing can be added to their miseries, comes on the heart-breaking scene. A parent is sold to one, a son to another, and a daughter to a third! Brother is cleft from brother, sister from sister, and parents from their darling offspring! Broken with every distress that human nature can feel, and bedewed with tears of anguish, they are dragged into the last stage of depression and slavery, never, never to behold the faces of one another again! The scene is too affecting. I have not fortitude to pursue the subject." — *Elliot's Debates*, vol. ii. pp. 203, 204.

Pennsyl-
vania Con-
vention.

Pennsylvania was the second State to adopt the Constitution. The remarks of James Wilson, in the Ratification Convention, must not be omitted. Mr. Wilson was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and was for several years a member of Congress. He was not only an eloquent orator and ready debater, but may be regarded as one of the first jurists in the country. Washington appointed him a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States the year after the adoption of the Constitution; and he held the office until his death, which occurred in 1798. The opinions of such a man are entitled to great consideration.

“ With respect to the clause restricting Congress from prohibiting the *migration or importation of such persons* as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit prior to the year 1808, the honorable gentleman says that this clause is not only dark, but intended to grant to Congress, for that time, the power to admit the importation of *slaves*. No such thing was intended. But I will tell you what was done, and it gives me high pleasure that so much was done. Under the present Confederation, the States may admit the importation of slaves as long as they please ; but by this article, after the year 1808, the Congress will have power to prohibit such importation, notwithstanding the disposition of any State to the contrary. *I consider this as laying the foundation for banishing slavery out of this country ; and though the period is more distant than I could wish, yet it will produce the same kind, gradual change which was pursued in Pennsylvania.* It is with much satisfaction I view this power in the General Government, whereby they may lay an interdiction on this reproachful trade. But an immediate advantage is also obtained : for a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person ; and this, Sir, operates as a partial prohibition. It was all that could be obtained. I am sorry it was no more ; but from this I think there is reason to hope, that yet a few years, and it will be prohibited altogether ; and, in the mean time, the *new* States which are to be formed will be under the *control* of Congress in this particular, and slaves will never be introduced amongst them.

Pennsylvania Convention.

James Wilson.

“ I recollect, on a former day, the honorable gentleman from Westmoreland (Mr. Findley), and the honorable gentleman from Cumberland (Mr. Whitehill), took exceptions against the 1st clause of the 9th sect., art. 1, arguing, very unfairly, that, because Congress might impose a tax or duty of ten dollars on the importation of slaves within any of the United States, Congress might therefore permit slaves to be imported within this State, contrary to its laws. I confess, I little thought that this part of the system would be excepted to.

“ I am sorry that it could be extended no farther ; but, so far as it operates, it presents us with the pleasing prospect, that the rights of mankind will be acknowledged and established throughout the Union.

“ If there was no other lovely feature in the Constitution but this

James
Wilson.

one, it would diffuse a beauty over its whole countenance. *Yet the lapse of a few years, and Congress will have power to exterminate slavery from within our borders.*" — *Elliot's Debates*, vol. ii. pp. 452, 484.

Maryland.

Maryland adopted the Constitution in opposition to the strong remonstrance of Luther Martin. The address which he made to the State Legislature has been published, and fills between forty and fifty closely printed pages. The part pertinent to this paper is here copied entire : —

Luther
Martin to
the Legis-
lature of
Maryland.

"By the ninth section of this article, the importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight ; but a duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars each person.

"The design of this clause is to prevent the General Government from prohibiting the importation of slaves : but the same reasons which caused them to strike out the word 'national,' and not admit the word 'stamps,' influenced them here to guard against the word 'slaves.' They anxiously sought to avoid the admission of expressions which might be odious in the ears of Americans, although they were willing to admit into their system those things which the expressions signified : and hence it is that the clause is so worded as really to authorize the General Government to impose a duty of ten dollars on every foreigner who comes into a State to become a citizen, whether he comes absolutely free, or qualifiedly so as a servant ; although this is contrary to the design of the framers, and the duty was only meant to extend to the importation of slaves.

"This clause was the subject of a great diversity of sentiment in the Convention. As the system was reported by the committee of detail, the provision was general, that such importation should not be prohibited, without confining it to any particular period. This was rejected by eight States ; Georgia, South Carolina, and, I think, North Carolina, voting for it.

"We were then told by the delegates of the two first of those States, that their States would never agree to a system which put it in the power of the General Government to prevent the importation of slaves ; and that they, as delegates from those States, must withhold their assent from such a system.

"A committee of one member from each State was chosen by ballot to take this part of the system under their consideration, and to endeavor to agree upon some report which should reconcile those States. To this committee also was referred the following proposition, which had been reported by the committee of detail; viz., 'No navigation act shall be passed without the assent of two-thirds of the members present in each house,'—a proposition which the staple and commercial States were solicitous to retain, lest their commerce should be placed too much under the power of the Eastern States, but which these last States were as anxious to reject. This committee, of which also I had the honor to be a member, met, and took under their consideration the subjects committed to them. I found the Eastern States, notwithstanding their aversion to slavery, were very willing to indulge the Southern States at least with a temporary liberty to prosecute the slave-trade, provided the Southern States would, in their turn, gratify them by laying no restriction on navigation acts; and, after a very little time, the committee, by a great majority, agreed on a report, by which the General Government was to be prohibited from preventing the importation of slaves for a limited time, and the restrictive clause relative to navigation acts was to be omitted.

"This report was adopted by a majority of the Convention, but not without considerable opposition. It was said that we had just assumed a place among independent nations in consequence of our opposition to the attempts of Great Britain to enslave us; that this opposition was grounded upon the preservation of those rights to which God and nature had entitled us, not in particular, but in common with the rest of all mankind; that we had appealed to the Supreme Being for his assistance, as the God of freedom, who could not but approve our efforts to preserve the rights which he had thus imparted to his creatures; that now, when we scarcely had risen from our knees, from supplicating his aid and protection in forming our government over a free people,—a government formed pretendedly on the principles of liberty, and for its preservation,—in that government to have a provision not only putting it out of its power to restrain and prevent the slave-trade, but even encouraging that most infamous traffic by giving the States power and influence in the Union in proportion as they cruelly and wantonly sport with the rights of their fellow-creatures, ought to be considered as a solemn mockery of, and insult to, that God whose protection we had then implored; and could

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Maryland.

not fail to hold us up in detestation, and render us contemptible to every true friend of liberty in the world. It was said, it ought to be considered that national crimes can only be, and frequently are, punished in this world by national punishments; and that the continuance of the slave-trade, and thus giving it a national sanction and encouragement, ought to be considered as justly exposing us to the displeasure and vengeance of Him who is equally Lord of all, and who views with equal eye the poor African slave and his American master.

“It was urged, that, by this system, we were giving the General Government full and absolute power to regulate commerce; under which general power it would have a right to restrain, or totally prohibit, the slave-trade. It must therefore appear to the world absurd and disgraceful, to the last degree, that we should except from the exercise of that power the only branch of commerce which is unjustifiable in its nature, and contrary to the rights of mankind; that, on the contrary, we ought rather to prohibit expressly, in our Constitution, the further importation of slaves, and to authorize the General Government, from time to time, to make such regulations as should be thought most advantageous for the gradual abolition of slavery, and the emancipation of the slaves which are already in the States; that slavery is inconsistent with the genius of republicanism, and has a tendency to destroy those principles on which it is supported, as it lessens the sense of the equal rights of mankind, and habituates us to tyranny and oppression. It was further urged, that, by this system of government, every State is to be protected both from foreign invasion and from domestic insurrections; that, from this consideration, it was of the utmost importance it should have a power to restrain the importation of slaves, since, in proportion as the number of slaves was increased in any State, in the same proportion the State is weakened, and exposed to foreign invasion or domestic insurrection, and by so much less will it be able to protect itself against either; and therefore will, by so much the more, want aid from, and be a burden to, the Union. It was further said, that as, in this system, we were giving the General Government a power, under the idea of national character or national interest, to regulate even our weights and measures, and have prohibited all possibility of emitting paper money, and passing insolvent laws, &c., it must appear still more extraordinary that we should prohibit the government from interfering with the slave-trade, than which nothing could so ma-

terially affect both our national honor and interest. These reasons influenced me, both on the Committee and in Convention, most decidedly to oppose and vote against the clause, as it now makes a part of the system. Luther Martin to the Legislature of Maryland.

"You will perceive, Sir, not only that the General Government is prohibited from interfering in the slave-trade before the year eighteen hundred and eight, but that there is no provision in the Constitution that it shall afterwards be prohibited, nor any security that such prohibition will ever take place; and I think there is great reason to believe, that, if the importation of slaves is permitted until the year eighteen hundred and eight, it will not be prohibited afterwards. At this time, we do not generally hold this commerce in so great abhorrence as we have done. When our liberties were at stake, we warmly felt for the common rights of men. The danger being thought to be past which threatened ourselves, we are daily growing more insensible to those rights. In those States which have restrained or prohibited the importation of slaves, it is only done by legislative acts which may be repealed. When those States find that they must, in their national character and connection, suffer in the disgrace, and share in the inconveniences, attendant upon that detestable and iniquitous traffic, they may be desirous also to share in the benefits arising from it; and the odium attending it will be greatly effaced by the sanction which is given to it in the General Government." — *Elliot's Debates*, vol. i. pp. 372-375.

Virginia was the tenth State to ratify the Constitution. Virginia Convention. Nowhere were the debates more able and thorough than there. It was not till June that the Convention was held. The proceedings occupy the whole of the third volume of *Elliot's "Debates."* George Mason, Patrick Henry, and James Madison were among the most important speakers. Let us look at their speeches.

"TUESDAY, June 15, 1788.

"MR. GEORGE MASON. Mr. Chairman, this is a fatal section, George Mason. which has created more dangers than any other. The first clause allows the importation of slaves for twenty years. Under the Royal Government, this evil was looked upon as a great oppression, and many attempts were made to prevent it; but the interest of the African merchants prevented its prohibition. No sooner did the Revo-

Virginia
Convention.

George
Mason.

lution take place than it was thought of. It was one of the great causes of our separation from Great Britain. Its exclusion has been a principal object of this State, and most of the States in the Union. The augmentation of slaves weakens the States; *and such a trade is diabolical in itself, and disgraceful to mankind*: yet, by this Constitution, it is continued for twenty years. As much as I value a union of all the States, *I would not admit the Southern States into the Union, unless they agree to the discontinuance of this disgraceful trade, because it would bring weakness, and not strength, to the Union.* And, though this infamous traffic be continued, we have no security for the property of that kind which we have already. There is no clause in this Constitution to secure it; *for they may lay such a tax as will amount to manumission.* And should the Government be amended, still this detestable kind of commerce cannot be discontinued till after the expiration of twenty years; for the fifth article, which provides for amendments, expressly excepts this clause. *I have ever looked upon this as a most disgraceful thing to America.* I cannot express my detestation of it. Yet they have not secured us the property of the slaves we have already: so that 'they have done what they ought not to have done, and have left undone what they ought to have done.'

James
Madison.

"Mr. MADISON. Mr. Chairman, I should conceive this clause to be impolitic, if it were one of those things which could be excluded without encountering greater evils. The Southern States would not have entered into the Union of America, without the *temporary* permission of that trade; and, if they were excluded from the Union, the consequences might be dreadful to them and to us. We are not in a worse situation than before. That traffic is prohibited by our laws, and we may continue the prohibition. The Union in general is not in a worse situation. Under the Articles of Confederation, it might be continued for ever; but, by this clause, an end may be put to it after twenty years. There is, therefore, an amelioration of our circumstances. A tax may be laid in the mean time: but it is limited; otherwise Congress might lay such a tax as would amount to a prohibition. From the mode of representation and taxation, Congress cannot lay such a tax on slaves as will amount to manumission. Another clause secures us that property which we now possess. At present, if any slave elopes to any of those States where slaves are free, he becomes emancipated by their laws; for the laws of the States are uncharitable to one another in this respect. But, in this Constitution, 'no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws

thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor shall be due.' This clause was expressly inserted to enable owners of slaves to reclaim them. Virginia Convention.
James Madison.

"This is a better security than any that now exists. No power is given to the General Government to interpose with respect to the property in slaves now held by the States. The taxation of this State being equal only to its representation, such a tax cannot be laid as he supposes. They cannot prevent the importation of slaves for twenty years; but, after that period, they can. The gentlemen from South Carolina and Georgia argued in this manner: 'We have now liberty to import this species of property; and much of the property now possessed had been purchased, or otherwise acquired, in contemplation of improving it by the assistance of imported slaves. What would be the consequence of hindering us from it? The slaves of Virginia would rise in value, and we should be obliged to go to your markets.' I need not expatiate on this subject. Great as the evil is, a dismemberment of the Union would be worse. If those States should disunite from the other States for not indulging them in the temporary continuance of this traffic, they might solicit and obtain aid from foreign powers.

"Mr. TYLER warmly enlarged on the impolicy, iniquity, and disgracefulness of this wicked traffic. He thought the reasons urged by gentlemen in defence of it were inconclusive and ill-founded. It was one cause of the complaints against British tyranny, that this trade was permitted. The Revolution had put a period to it; but now it was to be revived. He thought nothing could justify it. This temporary restriction on Congress militated, in his opinion, against the arguments of gentlemen on the other side, that what was not given up was retained by the States; for that, if this restriction had not been inserted, Congress could have prohibited the African trade. The power of prohibiting it was not expressly delegated to them; yet they would have had it by implication, if this restraint had not been provided. This seemed to him to demonstrate most clearly the necessity of restraining them, by a Bill of Rights, from infringing our unalienable rights. It was immaterial whether the Bill of Rights was by itself, or included in the Constitution. But he contended for it one way or the other. It would be justified by our own example and that of England. His earnest desire was, that it should be handed down

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Convention.

to posterity that he had opposed this wicked clause."—*Elliot's Debates*, vol. iii, pp. 452–454.

Patrick Henry was the most distinguished opponent of the Federal Constitution in the whole country. He had been appointed a delegate to the Convention at Philadelphia, but declined to attend. In the Virginia State Convention he persistently endeavored to defeat its adoption. When he found his efforts unsuccessful, like a true patriot, he ceased his opposition. Although he detested slavery, he was unwilling to grant to the United-States Congress the power of abolishing it without the consent of the States. This power he thought he saw in the Constitution, though not directly expressed in its language.

Patrick
Henry.

"Among ten thousand implied powers which they may assume, they may, if we be engaged in war, liberate every one of your slaves, if they please; and this must and will be done by men, a majority of whom have not a common interest with you. They will, therefore, have no feeling of your interests. It has been repeatedly said here, that the great object of a National Government was national defence. That power which is said to be intended for security and safety may be rendered detestable and oppressive. If they give power to the General Government to provide for the general defence, the means must be commensurate to the end. All the means in the possession of the people must be given to the Government which is intrusted with the public defence. In this State, there are 236,000 blacks, and there are many in several other States: but there are few or none in the Northern States; and yet, if the Northern States shall be of opinion that our slaves are numberless, they may call forth every national resource. May Congress not say *that every black man must fight?* Did we not see a little of this last war? We were not so hard pushed as to make emancipation general; but acts of Assembly passed, that every slave who would go to the army should be free. Another thing will contribute to bring this event about: slavery is detested; we feel its fatal effects; we deplore it with all the pity of humanity. Let all these considerations, at some future period, press with full force on the minds of Congress,—let that urbanity, which I trust will distinguish America, and the necessity of national defence,—let

all these things operate on their minds: they will search that paper, and see if they have power of manumission. And have they not, Sir? Have they not power to provide for the general defence and welfare? May they not think that these call for the abolition of slavery? May they not pronounce all slaves free? and will they not be warranted by that power? This is no ambiguous implication or logical deduction. The paper speaks to the point. They have the power, in clear, unequivocal terms, and will clearly and certainly exercise it. As much as I deplore slavery, I see that prudence forbids its abolition. I deny that the General Government ought to set them free, because a decided majority of the States have not the ties of sympathy and fellow-feeling for those whose interest would be affected by their emancipation. The majority of Congress is to the North, and the slaves are to the South." — *Elliot's Debates*, vol. iii. pp. 589, 590.

Virginia
Convention.

Patrick
Henry.

Governor Randolph had been a member of the Federal Convention; but he had refused to sign the Constitution, wishing to be left free to oppose or to advocate its adoption when it came before his State for consideration. He afterwards, however, saw, that on the ratification of the Constitution hung all hopes of preserving the Union, and he now gave it his hearty support. He thus replied to Mr. Henry:—

"That honorable gentleman, and some others, have insisted that the abolition of slavery will result from it, and at the same time have complained that it encourages its continuation. The inconsistency proves, in some degree, the futility of their arguments. But, if it be not conclusive to satisfy the committee that there is no danger of enfranchisement taking place, I beg leave to refer them to the paper itself. I hope that there is none here, who, considering the subject in the calm light of philosophy, will advance an objection dishonorable to Virginia,—that, at the moment they are securing the rights of their citizens, an objection is started that there is a spark of hope that those unfortunate men now held in bondage may, by the operation of the General Government, be made free. But, if any gentleman be terrified by this apprehension, let him read the system. I ask, and I will ask again and again, till I be answered (not by declamation), *Where is the part that has a tendency to the abolition of slavery?* Is it the clause which says that 'the migration or importation of such persons

Edmund
Randolph.

Virginia
Convention.

as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808'? This is an exception from the power of regulating commerce, and the restriction is only to continue till 1808. Then Congress can, by the exercise of that power, prevent future importations. But does it affect the existing state of slavery? Were it right here to mention what passed in convention on the occasion, I might tell you *that the Southern States, even South Carolina herself, conceived this property to be secure by these words.* I believe, whatever we may think here, that there was not a member of the Virginia delegation who had *the smallest suspicion of the abolition of slavery.* Go to their meaning. Point out the clause where this formidable power of emancipation is inserted." — *Elliot's Debates*, vol. iii. pp. 598, 599.

North-
Carolina
Convention.

In North Carolina, a Convention, "for the purpose of deliberating and determining on the proposed Constitution," was called by the Legislature. It assembled in Hillsborough on the 21st of July, 1788; and continued its session till Aug. 2d, when it adjourned without either adopting or rejecting the Constitution.

A few extracts from the debates will show how slavery was regarded in its connection with the Federal Constitution.

William R.
Davie.

"Mr. DAVIE. . . . The gentleman 'does not wish to be represented with negroes.' This, Sir, is an unhappy species of population; but we cannot at present alter their situation. The Eastern States had great jealousies on this subject. They insisted that their cows and horses were equally entitled to representation; that the one was property as well as the other. It became our duty, on the other hand, to acquire as much weight as possible in the legislation of the Union; and, as the Northern States were more populous in whites, this only could be done by insisting that a certain proportion of our slaves should make a part of the computed population. It was attempted to form a rule of representation from a compound ratio of wealth and population: but, on consideration, it was found impracticable to determine the comparative value of lands and other property, in so extensive a territory, with any degree of accuracy; and population alone was adopted as the only practicable rule or criterion of representation. It was urged by the deputies of the Eastern States,

that a representation of two-fifths would be of little utility, and that their entire representation would be unequal and burdensome; that, in a time of war, slaves rendered a country more vulnerable, while its defence devolved upon its free inhabitants. On the other hand, we insisted, that, in time of peace, they contributed, by their labor, to the general wealth, as well as other members of the community; that, *as rational beings, they had a right of representation, and, in some instances, might be highly useful in war.* On these principles, the Eastern States gave the matter up, and consented to the regulation as it has been read. I hope these reasons will appear satisfactory.”
 — *Elliot's Debates*, vol. iv. pp. 80, 81.

North-
Carolina
Conven-
tion.

William R.
Davie.

When the ninth section was under discussion, Mr. M'Dowall wished to hear the reasons of the restriction on Congress in regard to prohibiting the importation of slaves before the year 1808.

“Mr. SPAIGHT answered, that there was a contest between the Northern and Southern States; that the Southern States, whose principal support depended on the labor of slaves, would not consent to the desire of the Northern States to exclude the importation of slaves absolutely; that South Carolina and Georgia insisted on this clause, as they were now in want of hands to cultivate their lands; that, in the course of twenty years, they would be fully supplied; that the trade would be abolished then; and that, in the mean time, some tax or duty might be laid on.

Richard D.
Spaight.

“Mr. M'DOWALL replied, that the explanation was just such as he expected, and by no means satisfactory to him; and that he looked upon it as a very objectionable part of the system.

Joseph
M'Dowall.

“Mr. IREDELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise to express sentiments similar to those of the gentleman from Craven. For my part, were it practicable to put an end to the importation of slaves immediately, it would give me the greatest pleasure; for it certainly is a trade utterly inconsistent with the rights of humanity, and under which great cruelties have been exercised. *When the entire abolition of slavery takes place, it will be an event which must be pleasing to every generous mind and every friend of human nature; but we often wish for things which are not attainable. It was the wish of a great majority of the Convention to put an end to the trade immediately; but the States of South Carolina and Georgia would not agree to it. Consider, then,*

James
Iredell.

North-
Carolina
Conven-
tion.

James
Iredell.

what would be the difference between our present situation in this respect, if we do not agree to the Constitution, and what it will be if we do agree to it. If we do not agree to it, do we remedy the evil? No, Sir: we do not; for, if the Constitution be not adopted, it will be in the power of every State to continue it for ever. They may or may not abolish it at their discretion. But, if we adopt the Constitution, the trade must cease after twenty years, if Congress declare so, whether particular States please so or not: surely, then, we can gain by it. This was the utmost that could be obtained. I heartily wish more could have been done; but, as it is, this Government is nobly distinguished above others by that very provision. Where is there another country in which such a restriction prevails? We therefore, Sir, set an example of humanity, by providing for the abolition of this inhuman traffic, though at a distant period. I hope, therefore, that this part of the Constitution will not be condemned because it has not stipulated for what was impracticable to obtain.

James
Galloway.

"Mr. GALLOWAY. Mr. Chairman, the explanation given to this clause does not satisfy my mind. I wish to see this abominable trade put an end to. But in case it be thought proper to continue this abominable traffic for twenty years, yet I do not wish to see the tax on the importation extended to all persons whatsoever. Our situation is different from the people to the North. We want citizens: they do not. Instead of laying a tax, we ought to give a bounty to encourage foreigners to come among us. With respect to the abolition of slavery, it requires the utmost consideration. The property of the Southern States consists principally of slaves. If they mean to do away slavery altogether, this property will be destroyed. I apprehend it means to bring forward manumission. If we must manumit our slaves, what country shall we send them to? It is impossible for us to be happy, if, after manumission, they are to stay among us.

James
Iredell.

"Mr. IREDELL. . . . There is another circumstance to be observed. There is no authority vested in Congress to restrain the States, in the interval of twenty years, from doing what they please. If they wish to prohibit such importation, they may do so." — *Elliot's Debates*, vol. iv. pp. 100-102.

South-
Carolina
Legisla-
ture.

In South Carolina, the Constitution was discussed in the Legislature before the Convention was called. Two or three extracts from the speeches made before that body will end these specimens of the Debates.

“Mr. LOWNDES remarked, that we had a law prohibiting the im-
 portation of negroes for three years, — a law he greatly approved of; but there was no reason offered why the Southern States might not find it necessary to alter their conduct, and open their ports. *Without negroes, this State would degenerate into one of the most contemptible in the Union*; and he cited an expression that fell from General Pinckney on a former debate, that, whilst there remained one acre of swamp-land in South Carolina, he should raise his voice against restricting the importation of negroes. Even in granting the importation for twenty years, care had been taken to make us pay for this indulgence; each negro being liable, on importation, to pay a duty not exceeding ten dollars; and, in addition to this, they were liable to a capitation tax. Negroes were our wealth, our only natural resource; yet behold how our kind friends in the North were determined soon to tie up our hands, and drain us of what we had! The Eastern States drew their means of subsistence, in a great measure, from their shipping; and, on that head, they had been particularly careful not to allow of any burdens. They were not to pay tonnage or duties; no, not even the form of clearing out: all ports were free and open to them! Why, then, call this a reciprocal bargain, which took all from one party, to bestow it on the other?” — *Elliot's Debates*, vol. iv. pp. 272, 273.

South-
Carolina
Legisla-
ture.

Rawlins
Lowndes.

General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney had been a member of the Federal Convention, and was an earnest and able supporter of the rights of the State he represented. He was undoubtedly sincere in his belief that he had made for his constituents pretty good terms in regard to their special interests, and that they ought to be satisfied with the Constitution, and vote for its adoption.

“You have so frequently heard my sentiments on this subject, that I need not now repeat them. It was alleged by some of the members who opposed an unlimited importation, that slaves increased the weakness of any State who admitted them; that they were a dangerous species of property, which an invading enemy could easily turn against ourselves and the neighboring States; and that, as we were allowed a representation for them in the House of Representatives, our influence in government would be increased in proportion as we were less able to defend ourselves. ‘Show some period,’ said the

Gen. C. C.
Pinckney.

South-
Carolina
Legisla-
ture.

Gen. C. C.
Pinckney.

members from the Eastern States, 'when it may be in our power to put a stop, if we please, to the importation of this weakness, and we will endeavor, for your convenience, to restrain the religious and political prejudices of our people on this subject.' The Middle States and Virginia made us no such proposition: they were for an immediate and total prohibition. We endeavored to obviate the objections that were made, in the best manner we could, and assigned reasons for our insisting on the importation; which there is no occasion to repeat, as they must occur to every gentleman in the house. A Committee of the States was appointed, in order to accommodate this matter; and, after a great deal of difficulty, it was settled on the footing recited in the Constitution.

"By this settlement, we have secured an unlimited importation of negroes for twenty years. Nor is it declared that the importation shall be then stopped: it may be continued. We have a security that the General Government can never emancipate them; for no such authority is granted: and it is admitted, on all hands, that the General Government has no powers but what are expressly granted by the Constitution, and that all rights not expressed were reserved by the several States. We have obtained a right to recover our slaves in whatever part of America they may take refuge; which is a right we had not before. In short, considering all circumstances, we have made the best terms for the security of this species of property it was in our power to make. We would have made better, if we could; but, on the whole, I do not think them bad." — *Elliot's Debates*, vol. iv. pp. 285, 286.

Outside, also, of the State Conventions, opinions in regard to the effect of the Federal Constitution on slavery were divided. Two letters, written on the same day, in different parts of the country, by persons of high character and great influence in their respective States, will exhibit these differing views.

Dr. Ramsay, the historian of South Carolina, in a letter to General Lincoln, dated Charleston, Jan. 29th, 1788, says, —

Doctor
Ramsay.

"Our Assembly is now sitting, and have unanimously agreed to hold a convention. By common consent, the merits of the Federal Constitution were freely discussed on that occasion, for the sake of

enlightening our citizens. Mr. [Rawlins] Lowndes was the only man who made direct, formal opposition to it. His objections were local, and proceeded from an illiberal jealousy of New-England men. He urged that you would raise freights on us, and, in short, that you were too cunning for our honest people; that your end of the Continent would rule the other; and that the sun of our glory would set when the new Constitution operated. He has not one Federal idea in his head. He is said to be honest, and free from debt: but he was an enemy to independence; and, though our President in 1778, he was a British subject in 1780. His taking protection was rather the passive act of an old man than otherwise. He never aided or abetted the British Government directly; but his example was mischievous. His opposition has poisoned the minds of some.

"I fear the numerous class of debtors more than any other. On the whole, I have no doubt the Constitution will be accepted by a very great majority in this State. The sentiments of our leading men are, of late, much more Federal than formerly. This honest sentiment was avowed by the first characters: 'New England has lost, and we have gained, by the war; and her suffering citizens ought to be our carriers, though a dearer freight should be the consequence.' Your delegates never did a more politic thing than in standing by those of South Carolina about negroes. Virginia deserted them, and was for an immediate stoppage of further importation. The [Old] Dominion has lost much popularity by the conduct of her delegates on this head. The language now is, 'The Eastern States can soonest help us in case of invasion; and it is more our interest to encourage them and their shipping than to join with or look up to Virginia.'

"In short, Sir, a revolution highly favorable to union has taken place: Federalism, and liberality of sentiment, have gained great ground. Mr. Lowndes still thinks you are a set of sharpers, and does not wonder that you are for the new Constitution; as, in his opinion, you will have all the advantage. He thinks you begrudge us our negroes. But he is almost alone." — *Bowen's Life of Gen. Lincoln*, (*Sparks's Amer. Biogr.*, 2d Series, vol. xiii.,) pp. 410-412.

In a letter to Dr. Hart of Preston, dated 29th January, 1788, the Rev. Dr. Hopkins of Newport, R.I., writes thus:—

"The new Constitution, you observe, guarantees this trade for twenty years. I fear, if it be adopted, this will prove an Achan in

Doctor
Ramsay.

Rev. Dr.
Hopkins.

Rev. Dr.
Hopkins.

our camp. How does it appear in the sight of Heaven and of all good men, well informed, that *these States*, who have been fighting for liberty, and consider themselves as the highest and most noble example of zeal for it, cannot agree in any political Constitution, unless it indulge and authorize them to enslave their fellow-men ! I think if this Constitution be not adopted as it is, without any alteration, we shall have none, and shall be in a state of anarchy, and probably of civil war. Therefore I wish to have it adopted ; but still, as I said, *I fear*. And perhaps civil war will not be avoided, if it be adopted. Ah ! these unclean spirits, like frogs, — they, like the Furies of the poets, are spreading discord, and exciting men to contention and war, wherever they go ; and they can spoil the best Constitution that can be formed. When Congress shall be formed on the new plan, these frogs will be there ; for they go forth to the kings of the earth, in the first place. They will turn the members of that august body into devils, so far as they are permitted to influence them. Have they not already got possession of most of the men who will or can be chosen and appointed to a place in that assembly ? I suppose that even good Christians are not out of the reach of influence from these frogs. ‘Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments.’” — *Park's Memoir of Hopkins*, pp. 158, 159.

I have thus attempted to give a fair representation of the different shades of opinion on the Constitution in its relations to slavery, as expressed by the leading statesmen at the North and at the South. In the ample extracts from the Debates which have been presented, an apparent lack of harmony may be discovered among the arguments used in various parts of the country, whether in urging its adoption or its rejection. With an earnest zeal to secure for their country so great a boon as a firmly established Constitutional Government, its advocates may have pressed a little too strongly the arguments in favor of the views most acceptable to the particular State which at the time had the matter under consideration. On the other hand, the opponents of the Constitution undoubtedly exaggerated the evils which it was supposed it would entail upon the States, and perhaps unconsciously misrepresented the effects of the different clauses referring to slavery.

One thing is certain, that whilst the delegates from Georgia and South Carolina asked only a temporary toleration of the slave-trade, and non-interference with their local arrangements respecting domestic slavery, (declaring that, if let alone, they might themselves, as soon as it was practicable, stop the importation of slaves,) the common sentiment, in the Convention and throughout the country, was, that the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, fairly interpreted and faithfully applied, afforded a full guaranty of universal freedom throughout the Union at no distant day. The purpose of the Constitution was put into the preamble in no equivocal language, and for no doubtful purpose. It was "TO SECURE LIBERTY," and not to protect slavery: for liberty had been declared to be a natural, national, and unalienable right; while slavery was known to be an unnatural, sectional, temporary evil. It was intended, that, under the Constitution, slavery should, and it was expected that it would, at no distant day, be abolished.

The distinguished English moralist, Dr. Paley, published his "Moral and Political Philosophy" two years after our National Independence had been acknowledged. In his chapter on Slavery, he placed permanently on record his view of the effect of the principles promulgated by the American patriots, in these words: "The great Revolution which has taken place in the Western World may probably conduce (and who knows but that it was designed?) to accelerate the fall of this abominable tyranny."

Half a century later, in the Senate of the United States, Daniel Webster, the great defender of the Constitution, re-affirmed the principles of the Founders of the Republic in an immortal sentence, which it would be well for his countrymen now to heed. It is applicable in a broader sense than its author on that occasion intended: "LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOR EVER, ONE AND INSEPARABLE."

II.

NEGROES AS SOLDIERS.

A QUESTION of much importance is presented to our National Government at this time respecting the employment of negroes as soldiers. Those on whom devolves the responsibility of suppressing this monstrous Rebellion, must ultimately, and at no distant day, decide the matter. In their decision, they will undoubtedly be influenced by a regard to the usage and experience, in this respect, of those who directed our military affairs in the war of Independence, as well as by a consideration of the probable effect of their action on our loyal soldiers, and on the armed traitors who are arrayed against them.

It is not strange that the President, on whom, more than on all others, rests the responsibility of taking the final step in this direction, should pause a while to consider the subject in all its bearings, and to allow public opinion to shape itself more distinctly, that his decision, when made, shall have from the Nation a cordial and general support.

Public opinion heretofore has been divided on this question. In one direction, whenever the subject of negro soldiers is mentioned, there is an outcry, as if an atrocious and unheard-of policy were now about to be introduced, — something at variance with the practice of our Revolutionary leaders, and abhorrent to the moral sentiment and the established usage of civilized and Christian warriors.

On the other hand, Governor Sprague of Rhode Island, a conservative of the first degree, but convinced that there is something more worthy of conservation than treacherous timidity or popular prejudice, calls upon the colored people of his own patriotic State to follow the example of their fathers in the war of Seventy-six, and form themselves into a regi-

ment, which he proposes, at the proper time, to lead to the field in person.

To throw some light from the history of the past, I propose, by a reference to the annals of the American Revolution and a citation of competent authorities, to exhibit the opinions of the patriot statesmen and soldiers of that period, and their action in regard to negroes as soldiers, as well as the result of their experiment.

Two or three incidents in the earliest conflicts with the British troops will show how little prejudice there was against negroes at the commencement of the war, and how ready the citizens generally then were, not only to secure their services as fellow-soldiers, but to honor them for their patriotism and valor.

In the "Boston Gazette, or Weekly Journal," of Tuesday, Oct. 2, 1750, there was published the following advertisement:—

"**R**AN-away from his master *William Brown of Framingham*, on the 30th of *Sept.* last, a Molatto Fellow, about 27 Years of Age, named *Crispas*, 6 Feet 2 Inches high, short curl'd Hair, his Knees nearer together than common; had on a light colour'd Bearskin Coat, plain brown Fustian Jacket, or brown all-Wool one, new Buckskin Breeches, blue Yarn Stockings, and a checked woolen Shirt.

"Whoever shall take up said Run-away, and convey him to his abovesaid Master, shall have *ten Pounds*, old Tenor Reward, and all necessary Charges paid. And all Masters of Vessels and others, are hereby cautioned against concealing or carrying off said Servant on Penalty of the Law. *Boston, October 2, 1750.*"

The "Molatto Fellow," it seems, did not speedily return to his master, notwithstanding the reward which was offered; for, on the 13th and 20th of November, another advertisement, similar to the above, was published in the same Journal.

The next time that his name appeared in a Boston newspaper, twenty years later, it was under very different circumstances. He was no longer a fugitive slave, but a hero and a martyr.

Boston
Massacre,
March 5,
1770.

The Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770, may be regarded as the first act in the drama of the American Revolution. "From that moment," said Daniel Webster, "we may date the severance of the British Empire." The presence of the British soldiers in King Street excited the patriotic indignation of the people. The whole community was stirred, and sage counsellors were deliberating and writing and talking about the public grievances. But it was not for "the wise and prudent" to be the first to *act* against the encroachments of arbitrary power. "A motley rabble of saucy boys, negroes and mulattoes, Irish Teagues, and outlandish Jack tars," (as John Adams described them in his plea in defence of the soldiers,) could not restrain their emotion, or stop to inquire if what they *must do* was according to the letter of any law. Led by Crispus Attucks, the mulatto slave, and shouting, "The way to get rid of these soldiers is to attack the main guard; strike at the root; this is the nest," with more valor than discretion they rushed to King Street, and were fired upon by Captain Preston's Company. Crispus Attucks was the first to fall: he and Samuel Gray and Jonas Caldwell were killed on the spot. Samuel Maverick and Patrick Carr were mortally wounded.

The excitement which followed was intense. The bells of the town were rung. An impromptu town-meeting was held, and an immense assembly was gathered.

Funeral
of the
Martyrs.

Three days after, on the 8th, a public funeral of the martyrs took place. The shops in Boston were closed; and all the bells of Boston and the neighboring towns were rung. It is said that a greater number of persons assembled on this occasion than were ever before gathered on this continent for a similar purpose. The body of Crispus Attucks, the mulatto slave, had been placed in Faneuil Hall, with that of Caldwell; both being strangers in the city. Maverick was buried from his mother's house in Union Street; and Gray, from his brother's in Royal Exchange Lane. The four hearses formed

a junction in King Street; and there the procession marched in columns six deep, with a long file of coaches belonging to the most distinguished citizens, to the Middle Burying-ground, where the four victims were deposited in one grave; over which a stone was placed with this inscription:—

Boston
Massacre,
March 5,
1770.

"Long as in Freedom's cause the wise contend,
Dear to your country shall your fame extend;
While to the world the lettered stone shall tell
Where Caldwell, Attucks, Gray, and Maverick fell."

The anniversary of this event was publicly commemorated in Boston by an oration and other exercises every year until after our national Independence was achieved, when the Fourth of July was substituted for the Fifth of March as the more proper day for a general celebration. Not only was the event commemorated, but the martyrs who then gave up their lives were remembered and honored. Dr. Joseph Warren, in his Oration in March, 1775, only two months before he showed the sincerity of his sentiments by sealing them with his own precious blood, gave utterance to the following bold and timely words:—

"That personal freedom is the natural right of every man, and that property, or an exclusive right to dispose of what he has honestly acquired by his own labor, necessarily arises therefrom, are truths which common sense has placed beyond the reach of contradiction. And no man, or body of men, can, without being guilty of flagrant injustice, claim a right to dispose of the persons or acquisitions of any other man, or body of men, unless it can be proved that such a right has arisen from some compact between the parties, in which it has been explicitly and freely granted." — *Oration*, p. 5.

Joseph
Warren.

At the battle of Bunker Hill, on the memorable 17th of June, 1775, negro soldiers stood side by side, and fought bravely, with their white brethren. If on the monument which commemorates that event were inscribed the names of those most worthy of honor for their heroic deeds on that day, high up on the shaft, with the names of Warren and Prescott,

1775,
17th June.
Battle of
Bunker
Hill.

Peter
Salem.

we should find that of PETER SALEM, a negro soldier, once a slave.

Major Pitcairn, of the British Marines, it is well known, fell just as he mounted the redoubt, shouting "The day is ours!" The shot which laid him low was fired by Peter Salem.

Although the shaft does not bear his name, the pencil of the artist has portrayed the scene, the pen of the impartial historian has recorded his achievement, and the voice of the eloquent orator has resounded his valor.

Colonel
Trumbull's
picture.

Colonel Trumbull, in his celebrated historic picture of this battle, introduces conspicuously the colored patriot. At the time of the battle, the artist, then acting as adjutant, was stationed with his regiment in Roxbury, and saw the action from that point. The picture was painted in 1786, when the event was fresh in his mind. It is a significant historical fact, pertinent to our present research, that, among the limited number of figures introduced on the canvas, more than one negro soldier can be distinctly seen.

And here I may venture to publish an extract from a letter written to me recently by Aaron White, Esq., of Thompson, in Connecticut, in answer to an inquiry on this subject:—

Aaron
White's
account
of Peter
Salem.

"With regard to the black hero of Bunker Hill, I never knew him personally, nor did I ever hear from his lips the story of his achievements; but I have better authority. About the year 1807, I heard a soldier of the Revolution, who was present at the Bunker-Hill battle, relate to my father the story of the death of Major Pitcairn. He said the Major had passed the storm of our fire without, and had mounted the redoubt, when, waving his sword, he commanded, in a loud voice, the 'rebels' to surrender. His sudden appearance and his commanding air at first startled the men immediately before him. They neither answered nor fired; probably not being exactly certain what was next to be done. At this critical moment, a negro soldier stepped forward, and, aiming his musket directly at the major's bosom, blew him through. My informant declared that he was so near, that he distinctly saw the act. The story made quite an impression on my mind.

I have frequently heard my father relate the story, and have no doubt of its truth. My father, on the day of the battle, was a mere child, and witnessed the battle and the burning of Charlestown from Roxbury Hill, sitting on the shoulders of the Rev. Mr. Jackson, who said to him as he replaced him on the ground, 'Now, boy, do you remember this.' Consequently, after such an injunction, he would necessarily pay particular attention to anecdotes concerning the first and only battle he ever witnessed." Account of Peter Salem.

The Rev. William Barry in his excellent "History of Framingham," and the Hon. Emory Washburn in his valuable "History of Leicester," give pretty full accounts of the colored patriot, who acted so important a part on that memorable occasion. Mr. Washburn says, —

"That shot was undoubtedly fired by Peter; and the death of Major Pitcairn, with its accompanying circumstances, formed one of the most touching incidents of this eventful day. . . . After the war, he came to Leicester, and continued to reside there till a short time before his death. The history of the town would be incomplete without giving him a place. . . . He was born in Framingham, and was held as a slave, probably until he joined the army; whereby, if not before, he became free. This was the case with many of the slaves in Massachusetts, as no slave could be mustered into the army. If the master suffered this to be done, it worked a practical emancipation. Peter served faithfully as a soldier, during the war, in Col. Nixon's regiment. A part of the time, he was the servant of Col. Nixon, and always spoke of him in terms of admiration." — *History of Leicester*, pp. 266, 267, 308. Emory Washburn.

When the statue of General Joseph Warren was inaugurated on the 17th of June, 1857, the Honorable Edward Everett, in his Address, did not forget to mention the colored patriot, and thus to secure for his act perpetual record. Such an honor far exceeds that of any sculptured stone. Pointing to the obelisk, Mr. Everett said: —

"It commemorates no individual man or State. It stands, indeed, on the soil of Massachusetts, where the battle was fought; but there it stands equally for Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, and the younger sisters of the New-England family, Vermont and Edward Everett's honorable mention of Peter Salem.

Edward
Everett's
honorable
mention
of Peter
Salem.

Maine, whose troops shared with ours the dangers and honors of the day. It stands for Prescott and Warren, but not less for Putnam and Stark and Greene. No name adorns the shaft; but ages hence, though our alphabets may become as obscure as those which cover the monuments of Nineveh and Babylon, its uninscribed surface (on which monarchs might be proud to engrave their titles) will perpetuate the memory of the 17th of June. It is the monument of the day, of the event, of the battle of Bunker Hill; of all the brave men who shared its perils,—alike of Prescott and Putnam and Warren, the chiefs of the day, and the colored man, Salem, who is reported to have shot the gallant Pitcairn, as he mounted the parapet. Cold as the clods on which it rests, still as the silent heavens to which it soars, it is yet vocal, eloquent, in their undivided praise.” — *Orations and Speeches*, vol. iii. p. 529.

Salem
Poor.

Another colored soldier, who participated in the battle of Bunker Hill, is favorably noticed in a petition to the General Court, signed by some of the principal officers, less than six months after the event. It is printed from the original manuscript in our State Archives.

“To the Honorable General Court of the Massachusetts Bay.

“The subscribers beg leave to report to your Honorable House (which we do in justice to the character of so brave a man), that, under our own observation, we declare that a negro man called Salem Poor, of Col. Frye’s regiment, Capt. Ames’ company, in the late battle at Charlestown, behaved like an experienced officer, as well as an excellent soldier. To set forth particulars of his conduct would be tedious. We would only beg leave to say, in the person of this said negro centres a brave and gallant soldier. The reward due to so great and distinguished a character, we submit to the Congress.

“JONA. BREWER, Col.
THOMAS NIXON, Lt.-Col.
WM. PRESCOTT, Col.
EPH^m. COREY, Lieut.
JOSEPH BAKER, Lieut.
JOSHUA ROW, Lieut.
JONAS RICHARDSON, Capt.

ELIPHALET BODWELL, Sgt.
JOSIAH FOSTER, Lieut.
EBENR. VARNUM, 2d Lieut.
WM. HUDSON BALLARD, Cpt.
WILLIAM SMITH, Cap.
JOHN MORTON, Sergt. [?]
Lieut. RICHARD WELSH.

“CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 5, 1775.

“In Council, Dec. 21, 1775. — Read, and sent down.

“PEREZ MORTON, *Dep’y Sec’y.*”

(MS. Archives of Massachusetts, vol. clxxx. p. 241.)

Here I cannot forbear calling attention to the opinion of one who was a brave soldier, not only in this battle, but from the commencement to the close of the Revolution; and whose name continues to be honored in his children and his children's children in our own city.

"Samuel Lawrence was born in Groton, April 24, 1754; and was, ^{Major Lawrence.} therefore, in his early manhood when our Revolutionary struggle commenced. In common with all the hardy, intelligent, liberty-loving yeomanry of New England, he espoused the cause of the Colonies, and devoted himself to it with a courage that never failed, a constancy that never faltered, till his country had passed 'from impending servitude to acknowledged independence.' At work in the field, ploughing his paternal acres, when the news of the attack upon Concord reached Groton, he immediately unloosed a horse from his team, and, mounting, rode rapidly through Groton and some of the adjoining towns, spreading the alarm, and summoning the militia to assemble. He returned in season to join his own company at the church at Groton, at twelve o'clock; where, after prayer offered by the pastor of the town, they started for Concord, helped to swell that impetuous tide of resistance which drove back the invaders, and slept that night on Cambridge Common, after a forced march of thirty miles, and hot skirmishes with the retreating foe. From that time to the peace of 1783, he was 'a soldier of the Revolution'; and, with the exception of one or two brief visits to his family and friends at Groton, he was in actual service throughout the whole war. He rose to the rank of major, and for a considerable period was attached to Gen. Sullivan's staff as adjutant; an office for which his powerful lungs and sonorous voice, which could be heard throughout a long line of troops, peculiarly fitted him. He was in many of the severest battles of the Revolution.

"At Bunker Hill, where he was slightly wounded, his coat and hat were pierced with the balls of the enemy, and were preserved in the family for many years. At one time he commanded a company whose rank and file were all negroes, of whose courage, military discipline, and fidelity, he always spoke with respect. On one occasion, being out reconnoitring with this company, he got so far in advance of his command, that he was surrounded, and on the point of being made prisoner by the enemy. The men, soon discovering his peril, rushed to his rescue, and fought with the most determined

Major
Lawrence.

bravery till that rescue was effectually secured. He never forgot this circumstance, and ever after took especial pains to show kindness and hospitality to any individual of the colored race who came near his dwelling." — *Memoir of William Lawrence*, by Rev. S. K. Lothrop, D.D., pp. 8, 9.

A single passage from Mr. Bancroft's History will give a succinct and clear account of the condition of the army, in respect to colored soldiers, at the time of the battle of Bunker Hill: —

George
Bancroft.

"Nor should history forget to record, that as in the army at Cambridge, so also in this gallant band, the free negroes of the Colony had their representatives. For the right of free negroes to bear arms in the public defence was, at that day, as little disputed in New England as their other rights. They took their place, not in a separate corps, but in the ranks with the white man; and their names may be read on the pension-rolls of the country, side by side with those of other soldiers of the Revolution." — *Bancroft's History of the U. S.*, vol. vii. p. 421.

At the commencement of the war, not only were free negroes received into the army, but, in many instances, slaves also stood in the ranks with freemen. The inconsistency, however, in using as soldiers, in an army raised for establishing National Liberty, those who were held in bondage, was too gross for the practice long to continue. This was virtually acknowledged in a Resolution which was adopted before the first great battle had been fought.

On the 20th of May, the Committee of Safety

Committee
of Safety.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, as the contest now between Great Britain and the Colonies respects the liberties and privileges of the latter, which the Colonies are determined to maintain, that the admission of any persons, as Soldiers, into the Army now raising, but only such as are Freemen, will be inconsistent with the principles that are to be supported, and reflect dishonor on this Colony; and that no Slaves be admitted into this army upon any consideration whatever." — *Force's American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. ii. p. 762.

The celebrated divine, the Rev. Dr. Hopkins of Newport, R. I., soon after the commencement of hostilities, published a "Dialogue concerning the Slavery of the Africans," which he dedicated to "The Honorable Continental Congress." As this tract was re-issued in New York by the Manumission Society, of which Robert R. Livingston, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay were active members, and a copy of it sent, by their direction, to each member of Congress, the views it contains are quite important as illustrating the sentiment of some of the ablest men of that time. The following extract is from a note to the "Dialogue:"—

"God is so ordering it in his providence, that it seems absolutely necessary something should speedily be done with respect to the slaves among us, in order to our safety, and to prevent their turning against us in our present struggle, in order to get their liberty. Our oppressors have planned to gain the blacks, and induce them to take up arms against us, by promising them liberty on this condition; and this plan they are prosecuting to the utmost of their power, by which means they have persuaded numbers to join them. And should we attempt to restrain them by force and severity, keeping a strict guard over them, and punishing them severely who shall be detected in attempting to join our opposers, this will only be making bad worse, and serve to render our inconsistency, oppression, and cruelty more criminal, perspicuous, and shocking, and bring down the righteous vengeance of Heaven on our heads. The only way pointed out to prevent this threatening evil is to set the blacks at liberty ourselves by some public acts and laws, and then give them proper encouragement to labor, or take arms in the defence of the American cause, as they shall choose. This would at once be doing them some degree of justice, and defeating our enemies in the scheme that they are prosecuting." — *Hopkins's Works*, vol. ii. p. 584.

Rev. Dr.
Hopkins.

Many slaves were manumitted that they might become soldiers. They served faithfully to the close of the war. Their skill and bravery were never called in question, but, on the contrary, were frequently commended. There does not, however, appear to have been, at that time, any special

legislation sanctioning the employment of Negroes as soldiers. Authority was given by the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, Nov. 20, 1775, for military officers to use slaves for certain purposes, as will be seen by the following resolution:—

South
Carolina
Provincial
Congress.

“On motion, *Resolved*, That the colonels of the several regiments of militia throughout the Colony have leave to enroll such a number of able male slaves, to be employed as pioneers and laborers, as public exigencies may require; and that a daily pay of seven shillings and sixpence be allowed for the service of each such slave while actually employed.” — *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. iv. p. 61.

Unsettled
policy
respecting
negroes as
soldiers.

This resolution must not be regarded as a general sanction, on the part of South Carolina, of the employment of slaves as soldiers. Such was far from being the case. Although some of her ablest statesmen and bravest soldiers on several occasions advocated strongly in the Continental Congress, and in the Provincial Legislature, such a use of Negroes, there was a strong, successful, and disastrous opposition to the measure.

The first general order issued by Ward, the commanding officer, required a return of the “complexion” of the soldiers. It would be interesting, and not very difficult for any one who has access to the early rolls of the army, and leisure to examine them, to ascertain the number of negroes who became soldiers. It would also be interesting, and perhaps not wholly unprofitable, to trace the progress of opinion on this subject, from the time when the opposition to negro soldiers first commenced, until it was so far overcome, that nearly every State, by legislative act or by practice, sanctioned their employment. The most that I can do, in this paper, is to produce some specimens of the opinions, laws, and action of that period. It may be well to observe, that what has caused so much complaint in the management of the present civil war — the apparently vacillating action and unsettled policy

of the administration and the army with regard to the use of negroes as soldiers — is not without a precedent, “an historic parallel,” in the annals of the Revolutionary War.

Although slavery existed throughout the country, it is a significant fact, that the principal opposition to negro soldiers came from the States where there was the least hearty and efficient support of the principles of Republican Government, and the least ability or disposition to furnish an equal or fair quota of white soldiers.

South Carolina and Georgia contained so many Tories, at one time, that it was supposed the British officers, who elsewhere would, by proclamation, free all negroes joining the Royal Army, might hesitate to meddle with them in these Colonies, lest “the king’s friends” should suffer thereby.

John Adams, in his “Diary,” under the date of the 28th of September, 1775, gives an account of an interview with Mr. Bullock and Mr. Houston, of Georgia; in which the following statement occurs:—

“The question was, whether all America was not in a state of ^{Georgia and South Carolina.} war, and whether we ought to confine ourselves to act upon the defensive only? He was for acting offensively next spring or this fall, if the petition was rejected or neglected. If it was not answered, and favorably answered, he would be for acting against Britain and Britons, as, in open war, against French and Frenchmen; fit privateers, and take their ships anywhere. These gentlemen give a melancholy account of the state of Georgia and South Carolina. They say, that if one thousand regular troops should land in Georgia, and their commander be provided with arms and clothes enough, and proclaim freedom to all the negroes who would join his camp, twenty thousand negroes would join it from the two Provinces in a fortnight. The negroes have a wonderful art of communicating intelligence among themselves: it will run several hundreds of miles in a week or fortnight. They say their only security is this: that all the king’s friends, and tools of government, have large plantations, and property in negroes; so that the slaves of the Tories would be lost, as well as those of the Whigs.” — *Works of John Adams*, vol. ii. p. 428.

On the 10th of July, 1775, there was issued at Cambridge, by General Gates, an order determining what persons were to be excluded by the recruiting officers, who were immediately to go upon that service.

Order
concerning
enlist-
ments.

“ You are not to enlist any deserter from the Ministerial Army, nor any stroller, negro, or vagabond, or person suspected of being an enemy to the liberty of America, nor any under eighteen years of age.

“ As the cause is the best that can engage men of courage and principle to take up arms, so it is expected that none but such will be accepted by the recruiting officer. The pay, provision, &c., being so ample, it is not doubted but that the officers sent upon this service will, without delay, complete their respective corps, and march the men forthwith to camp.

“ You are not to enlist any person who is not an American born, unless such person has a wife and family, and is a settled resident in this country. The persons you enlist must be provided with good and complete arms.” — *From Gaines's Mercury*, July 24, (in *Frank Moore's Diary of the American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 110.)

Orders to
exclude
negroes.

On the 26th of September following, according to Mr. Bancroft, “ Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, moved the discharge of all the negroes in the army, and he was strongly supported by many of the Southern delegates; but the opposition was so powerful and so determined, that ‘he lost his point.’ ”

On the 18th of October, a Committee of Conference, consisting of Dr. Franklin, Benjamin Harrison, and Thomas Lynch, met at Cambridge, with the Deputy-Governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island, a Committee of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, and General Washington, to consider the condition of the army, and to devise means for its improvement. On the 23d of October, the subject of negro soldiers came before them for action, and was thus decided:—

“ Ought not negroes to be excluded from the new enlistment, especially such as are slaves? All were thought improper by the council of officers.

"Agreed, That they be rejected altogether." — *Force's American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. iii. p. 1161.

The following extract from the Orderly Book, under the date of November 12th, indicates the spirit that prevailed in enlisting the new army:—

"The officers are to be careful not to enlist any person suspected of being unfriendly to the liberties of America, or any abandoned vagabond, to whom all causes and countries are equal and alike indifferent. The rights of mankind and the freedom of America will have numbers sufficient to support them, without resorting to such wretched assistance. Let those who wish to put shackles upon free-men fill their ranks with such miscreants, and place their confidence in them. Neither negroes, boys unable to bear arms, nor old men unfit to endure the fatigues of the campaign, are to be enlisted." — *Sparks's Washington*, vol. iii. p. 155.

On the 31st of December, 1775, Washington wrote from Cambridge to the President of Congress in regard to the army, in which he thus alludes to negro soldiers:—

Negroes to be enlisted.

"It has been represented to me, that the free negroes who have served in this army are very much dissatisfied at being discarded. As it is to be apprehended that they may seek employ in the Ministerial Army, I have presumed to depart from the resolution respecting them, and have given license for their being enlisted. If this is disapproved of by Congress, I will put a stop to it." — *Sparks's Washington*, vol. iii. pp. 218, 219.

Mr. Sparks appends to this letter the following note:—

"At a meeting of the general officers, previously to the arrival of the committee from Congress in camp, it was unanimously resolved, that it was not expedient to enlist slaves in the new army; and, by a large majority, negroes of every description were excluded from enlistment. When the subject was referred to the committee in conference, this decision was confirmed. In regard to free negroes, however, the resolve was not adhered to, and probably for the reason here mentioned by General Washington. Many black soldiers were in the service during all stages of the war." — *Sparks's Washington*, vol. iii. pp. 218, 219.

On the 16th of January, 1776, Congress thus decided the question submitted by Washington:—

“That the free negroes, who have served faithfully in the army at Cambridge, may be re-enlisted therein, but no others.” — *Journals of Congress*, vol. ii. p. 26.

Account of
the army
in 1776.

An extract from a letter of General Thomas to John Adams gives a true picture of the army by one fully competent to describe it:—

“I am sorry to hear that any prejudices should take place in any Southern colony, with respect to the troops raised in this. I am certain the insinuations you mention are injurious, if we consider with what precipitation we were obliged to collect an army. In the regiments at Roxbury, the privates are equal to any that I served with in the last war; very few old men, and in the ranks very few boys. Our fifiers are many of them boys. We have some negroes; but I look on them, in general, equally serviceable with other men for fatigue; and, in action, many of them have proved themselves brave.

“I would avoid all reflection, or any thing that may tend to give umbrage; but there is in this army from the southward a number called riflemen, who are as indifferent men as I ever served with. These privates are mutinous, and often deserting to the enemy; unwilling for duty of any kind; exceedingly vicious; and, I think, the army here would be as well without as with them. But to do justice to their officers, they are, some of them, likely men.” — *MS. Letter, dated 24th October, 1775.*

Lord
Dunmore's
Proclamation.

While the question of employing negroes as soldiers was producing a troublesome controversy in the Army and in Congress, our enemies boldly met the matter in a practical manner. Lord Dunmore, the Royal Governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation in November, 1775, promising freedom to all slaves who would join the army of the British. In a recent “History of England,” this act is thus described:—

“In letters which had been laid before the English Parliament, and published to the whole world, he had represented the planters as ambitious, selfish men, pursuing their own interests and advancement at the expense of their poorer countrymen, and as being ready to make every sacrifice of honesty and principle; and he had said more

privately, that, since they were so anxious for liberty, — for more freedom than was consistent with the free institutions of the mother-country and the charter of the Colony, — that since they were so eager to abolish a fanciful slavery in a dependence on Great Britain, he would try how they liked an abolition of real slavery by setting free all their negroes and indentured servants, who were, in fact, little better than *white* slaves. This, to the Virginians, was like passing a rasp over a gangrened place: it was probing a wound that was incurable, or which has not yet been healed. Later in the year, when the battle of Bunker's Hill had been fought, when our forts on Lake Champlain had been taken from us, and when Montgomery and Arnold were pressing on our possessions in Canada, Lord Dunmore carried his threat into execution. Having established his headquarters at Norfolk, he proclaimed freedom to all the slaves who would repair to his standard and bear arms for the king. The summons was readily obeyed by most of the negroes who had the means of escaping to him. He, at the same time, issued a proclamation, declaring martial law throughout the Colony of Virginia; and he collected a number of armed vessels, which cut off the coasting-trade, made many prizes, and greatly distressed an important part of that Province. If he could have opened a road to the slaves in the interior of the Province, his measures would have been very fatal to the planters. In order to stop the alarming desertion of the negroes, and to arrest his Lordship in his career, the Provincial Assembly detached against him a strong force of more than a thousand men, who arrived in the neighborhood of Norfolk in the month of December. Having made a circuit, they came to a village called Great Bridge, where the river Elizabeth was traversed by a bridge; but, before their arrival, the bridge had been made impassable, and some works, defended chiefly by negroes, had been thrown up." — *Pictorial History of England, George III.*, vol. i. pp. 224, 225.

English
account
of Lord
Dunmore's
action.

The Proclamation of Lord Dunmore was as follows:—

"By his Excellency the Right Honorable JOHN, Earl of DUNMORE, Lord
his Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor-General of the Colony and
Dominion of Virginia, and Vice-Admiral of the same, —
Dunmore's
Proclama-
tion.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"As I have ever entertained hopes that an accommodation might have taken place between Great Britain and this Colony, without being

Lord
Dunmore's
Proclamation.

compelled by my duty to this most disagreeable but now absolutely necessary step, rendered so by a body of armed men, unlawfully assembled, firing on his Majesty's tenders; and the formation of an army, and that army now on their march to attack his Majesty's troops, and destroy the well-disposed subjects of this Colony,—to defeat such treasonable purposes, and that all such traitors and their abettors may be brought to justice, and that the peace and good order of this Colony may be again restored, which the ordinary course of the civil law is unable to effect, I have thought fit to issue this my Proclamation; hereby declaring, that, until the aforesaid good purposes can be obtained, I do, in virtue of the power and authority to me given by his Majesty, determine to execute martial law, and cause the same to be executed, throughout this Colony. And, to the end that peace and good order may the sooner be restored, I do require every person capable of bearing arms to resort to his Majesty's standard, or be looked upon as traitors to his Majesty's Crown and Government, and thereby become liable to the penalty the law inflicts upon such offences,—such as forfeiture of life, confiscation of lands, &c., &c. And I do hereby further declare all indented servants, negroes, or others, (appertaining to rebels,) free, that are able and willing to bear arms, they joining his Majesty's troops, as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this Colony to a proper sense of their duty to his Majesty's crown and dignity. I do further order and require all his Majesty's liege subjects to retain their quit-rents, or any other taxes due, or that may become due, in their own custody, till such time as peace may be again restored to this at present most unhappy country, or demanded of them, for their former salutary purposes, by officers properly authorized to receive the same.

“Given under my hand, on board the ship ‘William,’ off Norfolk, the seventh day of November, in the sixteenth year of his Majesty's reign.

“DUNMORE.

“*God save the King!*”

(Force's "American Archives," Fourth Series, vol. iii. p. 1385.)

This Proclamation created great consternation in Virginia. It will be seen by the following extract from a letter written November 27th, 1775, by Edmund Pendleton to Richard Henry Lee, that many slaves flocked to the British standard.

"The Governor, hearing of this, marched out with three hundred and fifty soldiers, Tories and slaves, to Kemp's Landing; and after setting up his standard, and issuing his proclamation, declaring all persons rebels who took up arms for the country, and inviting all slaves, servants, and apprentices to come to him and receive arms, he proceeded to intercept Hutchings and his party, upon whom he came by surprise, but received, it seems, so warm a fire, that the ragamuffins gave way. They were, however, rallied on discovering that two companies of our militia gave way; and left Hutchings and Dr. Reid with a volunteer company, who maintained their ground bravely till they were overcome by numbers, and took shelter in a swamp. The slaves were sent in pursuit of them; and one of Col. Hutchings's own, with another, found him. On their approach, he discharged his pistol at his slave, but missed him; and was taken by them, after receiving a wound in his face with a sword. The numbers taken or killed, on either side, is not ascertained. It is said the Governor went to Dr. Reid's shop, and, after taking the medicines and dressings necessary for his wounded men, broke all the others to pieces. Letters mention that slaves flock to him in abundance; but I hope it is magnified." — *Force's American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. iv. p. 202.

Letter from
Edmund
Pendleton
to Richard
Henry Lee,
Nov. 27,
1775.

In a paper published in Williamsburg, Virginia, on the 23d of November, the Proclamation is severely commented on; and an urgent appeal is made to the negroes to stand by their masters,—their true friends,—who would, "were it in their power, restore freedom to such as have unhappily lost it."

"The second class of people for whose sake a few remarks upon this proclamation seem necessary is the negroes. They have been flattered with their freedom, if they be able to bear arms, and will speedily join Lord Dunmore's troops. To none, then, is freedom promised, but to such as are able to do Lord Dunmore service. The aged, the infirm, the women and children, are still to remain the property of their masters,—of masters who will be provoked to severity, should part of their slaves desert them. Lord Dunmore's declaration, therefore, is a cruel declaration to the negroes. He does not pretend to make it out of any tenderness to them, but solely upon his own account; and, should it meet with success, it leaves by far

Caution
to the
negroes.

Appeal to
the negroes
by their
masters.

the greater number at the mercy of an enraged and injured people. But should there be any amongst the negroes weak enough to believe that Lord Dunmore intends to do them a kindness, and wicked enough to provoke the fury of the Americans against their defenceless fathers and mothers, their wives, their women and children, let them only consider the difficulty of effecting their escape, and what they must expect to suffer if they fall into the hands of the Americans. Let them further consider what must be their fate should the English prove conquerors. If we can judge of the future from the past, it will not be much mended. Long have the Americans, moved by compassion and actuated by sound policy, endeavored to stop the progress of slavery. Our Assemblies have repeatedly passed acts, laying heavy duties upon imported negroes; by which they meant altogether to prevent the horrid traffic. But their humane intentions have been as often frustrated by the cruelty and covetousness of a set of English merchants, who prevailed upon the King to repeal our kind and merciful acts, little, indeed, to the credit of his humanity. Can it, then, be supposed that the negroes will be better used by the English, who have always encouraged and upheld this slavery, than by their present masters, who pity their condition; who wish, in general, to make it as easy and comfortable as possible; *and who would, were it in their power, or were they permitted, not only prevent any more negroes from losing their freedom, but restore it to such as have already unhappily lost it?* No: the ends of Lord Dunmore and his party being answered, they will either give up the offending negroes to the rigor of the laws they have broken, or sell them in the West Indies, where every year they sell many thousands of their miserable brethren, to perish either by the inclemency of weather or the cruelty of barbarous masters. Be not then, ye negroes, tempted by this proclamation to ruin yourselves. I have given you a faithful view of what you are to expect; and declare before God, in doing it, I have considered your welfare, as well, as that of the country. Whether you will profit by my advice, I cannot tell; but this I know, that, whether we suffer or not, if *you* desert us, *you* most certainly will.” — *Force's American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. iii. p. 1387.

The Virginia Convention appointed a Committee to prepare a Declaration in answer to Lord Dunmore's Proclamation. This was adopted on the 13th of December, when the same Committee was instructed to report another Declaration,

“ offering pardon to such slaves as shall return to their duty within ten days after the publication thereof.” This also was adopted the next day, in the following terms:—

Declaration
of pardon
to slaves.

“ *By the Representatives of the People of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, assembled in General Convention,*

“ A DECLARATION.

“ Whereas Lord Dunmore, by his Proclamation dated on board the ship ‘ William,’ off Norfolk, the seventh day of November, 1775, hath offered freedom to such able-bodied slaves as are willing to join him, and take up arms against the good people of this Colony, giving thereby encouragement to a general insurrection, which may induce a necessity of inflicting the severest punishments upon those unhappy people, already deluded by his base and insidious arts; and whereas, by an act of the General Assembly now in force in this Colony, it is enacted, that all negro or other slaves, conspiring to rebel or make insurrection, shall suffer death, and be excluded all benefit of clergy; — we think it proper to declare, that all slaves who have been or shall be seduced, by his Lordship’s Proclamation, or other arts, to desert their masters’ service, and take up arms against the inhabitants of this Colony, shall be liable to such punishment as shall hereafter be directed by the General Convention. And to the end that all such who have taken this unlawful and wicked step may return in safety to their duty, and escape the punishment due to their crimes, we hereby promise pardon to them, they surrendering themselves to Colonel William Woodford or any other commander of our troops, and not appearing in arms after the publication hereof. And we do further earnestly recommend it to all humane and benevolent persons in this Colony to explain and make known this our offer of mercy to those unfortunate people.” — *Force’s American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. iv. pp. 84, 85.

Washington saw what an element of strength Lord Dunmore had called to his aid, and the importance of acting promptly and with energy against him. On the 15th of December, he thus wrote to Joseph Reed:—

“ If the Virginians are wise, that arch-traitor to the rights of humanity, Lord Dunmore, should be instantly crushed, if it takes the force of the whole army to do it; otherwise, like a snow-ball in

Lord Dun-
more to be
crushed.

Lord
Dunmore.

rolling, his army will get size, some through fear, some through promises, and some through inclination, joining his standard: but that which renders the measure indispensably necessary is the negroes; for, if he gets formidable, numbers of them will be tempted to join who will be afraid to do it without." — *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, vol. i. 135.

Although many of the slaves responded to the proclamation by joining the army of the enemy, the greater part of them were too shrewd to be caught by such wily arts. They were unwilling to trust their freedom to the officers of a government which had persistently encouraged the slave-trade against the remonstrances of their masters, who had not only declared that traffic to be a wrong against humanity, but had expressed their desire to abolish domestic slavery as soon as it was practicable for them to do so. The inconsistency and atrocity of Lord Dunmore's conduct justly met with very general indignation. Subsequent events proved that the distrust and fears, felt by the slaves, were well founded.

It will be seen by letters written several months after the Proclamation was issued, that his Lordship attributed the limited success which attended it to another than the true cause.

“*Lord Dunmore to the Secretary of State.*

“[No. 1.]

“SHIP ‘DUNMORE,’ IN ELIZABETH RIVER, VA.,
30th March, 1776.

“Your Lordship will observe by my letter, No. 34, that I have been endeavoring to raise two regiments here, — one of white people, the other of black. The former goes on very slowly; but the latter very well, and would have been in great forwardness, had not a fever crept in amongst them, which carried off a great many very fine fellows.”

“[No. 3.]

“SHIP ‘DUNMORE,’ IN GWIN'S ISLAND HARBOR, VA.,
June 26, 1776.

“I am extremely sorry to inform your Lordship, that that fever, of which I informed you in my letter No. 1, has proved a very malignant one, and has carried off an incredible number of our people,

especially the blacks. Had it not been for this horrid disorder, I am satisfied I should have had two thousand blacks; with whom I should have had no doubt of penetrating into the heart of this Colony."

(Force's "American Archives," Fifth Series, vol. ii. pp. 160, 162.)

During the years 1776 and 1777, not much was done by ^{Negro Soldiers.} way of legislation towards settling a general policy with regard to the employment of negroes as soldiers. They continued, in fact, to be admitted into the line of the army without much objection.

A letter from General Greene to Washington shows that it was then contemplated to form the negroes at Staten Island into an independent regiment.

"CAMP ON LONG ISLAND,
July 21, 1776, two o'clock.

"SIR, — Colonel Hand reports seven large ships are coming up from the Hook to the Narrows.

"A negro belonging to one Strickler, at Gravesend, was taken prisoner (as he says) last Sunday at Coney Island. Yesterday he made his escape, and was taken prisoner by the rifle-guard. He reports eight hundred negroes collected on Staten Island, this day to be formed into a regiment.

"I am your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

"N. GREENE.

"To his Excellency Gen. WASHINGTON, Head-quarters, New York."

(Force's "American Archives," Fifth Series, vol. i. p. 486.)

A Resolve of the Massachusetts Legislature, in September, ^{Negro Prisoners.} 1776, is worthy of special notice. Referring to it, a writer in the "Historical Magazine" for September, 1861, says, "The course of the authorities of the Southern States, now in arms against the Government, in selling as slaves all negroes taken prisoners, is the last relic of a barbarous custom. . . . The first condemnation of the course seems to be that contained in a Massachusetts Resolve, of the 14th of September, 1776, forbidding the sale, as slaves, of two negroes taken on the sloop 'Hannibal.'" The Resolve is as follows:—

Negroes to
be treated
like other
prisoners
of war.

"Whereas this Court is credibly informed, that two negro men lately taken on the high seas, on board the sloop 'Hannibal,' and brought into this State as prisoners, are advertised to be sold at Salem the 17th instant, by public auction :

"Resolved, That all persons concerned with the said negroes be, and they hereby are, forbidden to sell them, or in any manner to treat them otherwise than is already ordered for the treatment of prisoners taken in like manner ; and, if any sale of the said negroes shall be made, it is hereby declared null and void. And that whenever it shall appear that any negroes are taken on the high seas, and brought as prisoners into this State, they shall not be allowed to be sold, nor treated any otherwise than as prisoners are ordered to be treated who are taken in like manner." — *Resolves, September, 1776, p. 14.*

I am indebted to my friend Mr. William J. Davis, of New York, for the following extract from the Journal of a Hessian officer who was with Burgoyne at the time of his surrender. It is a literal translation from a German work which is rare in this country. This testimony of a foreign officer, as to the common use of negroes in the American Army, is quite important. It is dated 23d October, 1777.

Hessian
officer's
testimony.

"From here to Springfield, there are few habitations which have not a negro family dwelling in a small house near by. The negroes are here as fruitful as other cattle. The young ones are well foddered, especially while they are still calves. Slavery is, moreover, very gainful. The negro is to be considered just as the bond-servant of a peasant. The negress does all the coarse work of the house, and the little black young ones wait on the little white young ones. *The negro can take the field, instead of his master ; and therefore no regiment is to be seen in which there are not negroes in abundance : and among them there are able-bodied, strong, and brave fellows.* Here, too, there are many families of free negroes, who live in good houses, have property, and live just like the rest of the inhabitants." — *Schloezer's Briefwechsel, vol. iv. p. 365.*

The capture of Major-General Prescott, of the British army, on the 9th of July, 1777, was an occasion of great joy throughout the country. Prince, the valiant negro who seized that officer, ought always to be remembered with honor

for his important service. The exploit was much commended at the time, as its results were highly important; and Colonel Barton, very properly, received from Congress the compliment of a sword for his ingenuity and bravery. It seems, however, that it took more than one head to plan and to execute the undertaking.

Capture of
the British
General
Prescott.

"They landed about five miles from Newport, and three-quarters of a mile from the house, which they approached cautiously, avoiding the main guard, which was at some distance. *The Colonel went foremost, with a stout, active negro close behind him, and another at a small distance: the rest followed so as to be near, but not seen.*

"A single sentinel at the door saw and hailed the Colonel: he answered by exclaiming against, and inquiring for, rebel prisoners, but kept slowly advancing. The sentinel again challenged him, and required the countersign. He said he had not the countersign; but amused the sentry by talking about rebel prisoners, and still advancing till he came within reach of the bayonet, which, he presenting, the colonel suddenly struck aside, and seized him. He was immediately secured, and ordered to be silent, on pain of instant death. *Meanwhile, the rest of the men surrounding the house, the negro, with his head, at the second stroke, forced a passage into it, and then into the landlord's apartment. The landlord at first refused to give the necessary intelligence; but, on the prospect of present death, he pointed to the General's chamber, which being instantly opened by the negro's head, the Colonel, calling the General by name, told him he was a prisoner.*" — *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Aug. 7, 1777; (in *Frank Moore's Diary of the American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 468.)

The event was thus noticed by a contemporary (Dr. Thacher), who was a surgeon in the American army:—

"*Albany*, Aug. 3, 1777. — The pleasing information is received here that Lieut.-Col. Barton, of the Rhode-Island militia, planned a bold exploit for the purpose of surprising and taking Major-Gen. Prescott, the commanding officer of the royal army at Newport. Taking with him, in the night, about forty men, in two boats, with oars muffled, he had the address to elude the vigilance of the ships-of-war and guard-boats: and, having arrived undiscovered at the quarters of Gen. Prescott, they were taken for the sentinels; and the

Doctor
Thacher's
account.

Doctor
Thacher's
account.

general was not alarmed till his captors were at the door of his lodging-chamber, which was fast closed. *A negro man, named Prince, instantly thrust his beetle head through the panel door, and seized his victim while in bed.* . . . This event is extremely honorable to the enterprising spirit of Col. Barton, and is considered as ample retaliation for the capture of Gen. Lee by Col. Harcourt. The event occasions great joy and exultation, as it puts in our possession an officer of equal rank with Gen. Lee, by which means an exchange may be obtained. Congress resolved that an elegant sword should be presented to Col. Barton for his brave exploit."

It was perhaps "Prince" to whom Dr. Thacher alludes in the following characteristic anecdote:—

"When the Count D'Estaing's fleet appeared near the British batteries, in the harbor of Rhode Island, a severe cannonade was commenced; and several shot passed through the houses in town, and occasioned great consternation among the inhabitants. A shot passed through the door of Mrs. Mason's house, just above the floor. The family were alarmed, not knowing where to flee for safety. A negro man ran and sat himself down very composedly, with his back against the shot-hole in the door; and, being asked by young Mr. Mason why he chose that situation, he replied, 'Massa, you never know two bullet go in one place.'"—*Thacher's Military Journal*, pp. 87, 175.

The subject of the employment of Negro soldiers came before the Connecticut General Assembly in 1777, in connection with the subject of slavery and emancipation.

By the courtesy of J. Hammond Trumbull, Esquire, Editor of "The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut," and Secretary of State, I am enabled to give, in his own words, the following interesting account of the action of that State:—

Action of
the Con-
necticut
Assembly.

"In May, 1777, the General Assembly of Connecticut appointed a Committee 'to take into consideration the state and condition of the negro and mulatto slaves in this State, and what may be done for their emancipation.' This Committee, in a report presented at the same session (signed by the chairman, the Hon. Matthew Griswold of Lyme), recommended —

“That the effective negro and mulatto slaves be allowed to enlist with the Continental battalions now raising in this State, under the following regulations and restrictions: viz., that all such negro and mulatto slaves as can procure, either by bounty, hire, or in any other way, such a sum to be paid to their masters as such negro or mulatto shall be judged to be reasonably worth by the selectmen of the town where such negro or mulatto belongs, shall be allowed to enlist into either of said battalions, and shall thereupon be, *de facto*, *free and emancipated*; and that the master of such negro or mulatto shall be exempted from the support and maintenance of such negro or mulatto, in case such negro or mulatto shall hereafter become unable to support and maintain himself.

Legislation
in Connec-
ticut.

“And that, in case any such negro or mulatto slave shall be disposed to enlist into either of said battalions during the [war], he shall be allowed so to do: and such negro or mulatto shall be appraised by the selectmen of the town to which he belongs; and his master shall be allowed to receive the bounty to which such slave may be entitled, and also one-half of the annual wages of such slave during the time he shall continue in said service; provided, however, that said master shall not be allowed to receive such part of said wages after he shall have received so much as amounts, together with the bounty, to the sum at which he was appraised.’”

This report, in the Lower House, was ordered to be continued to the next session of the Assembly. In the Upper House it was rejected.

Mr. Trumbull writes:—

“You will see by the Report of Committee, May, 1777, that General Varnum’s plan for the enlistment of slaves had been anticipated in Connecticut; with this difference, that Rhode Island *adopted* it, while Connecticut did *not*.

“The two States reached nearly the same *results* by different methods. The unanimous declaration of the officers at Cambridge, in the winter of 1775, *against* the enlistment of slaves,—confirmed by the Committee of Congress,—had some weight, I think, with the Connecticut Assembly, so far as the formal enactment of a law *authorizing* such enlistments was in question. At the same time, Washington’s license to *continue* the enlistment of negroes was regarded as a rule of action, both by the selectmen in making up, and by

Legislation
in Con-
necticut.

the State Government in accepting, the quota of the towns. The process of draughting, in Connecticut, was briefly this: The able-bodied men, in each town, were divided into 'classes'; and each class was required to furnish one or more men, as the town's quota required, to answer a draught. Now, the Assembly, at the same session at which the proposition for enlisting slaves was rejected (May, 1777), passed an act providing that any *two* men belonging to this State, 'who should procure an able-bodied soldier or recruit to enlist into either of the Continental battalions to be raised from this State,' should themselves be exempted from draught during the continuance of such enlistment. Of recruits or draughted men thus furnished, neither the selectmen nor commanding officers questioned the *color* or the civil *status*: white and black, bond and free, if 'able-bodied,' went on the roll together, accepted as the representatives of their 'class,' or as substitutes for their employers. At the next session (October, 1777), an act was passed which gave more direct encouragement to the enlistment of slaves. By the existing law, the master who emancipated a slave was not released from the liability to provide for his support. This law was now so amended, as to authorize the selectmen of any town, on the application of the master,—after 'inquiry into the age, abilities, circumstances, and character' of the servant or slave, and being satisfied 'that it was likely to be consistent with his real advantage, and that it was probable that he would be able to support himself,'—to grant liberty for his emancipation, and to discharge the master 'from any charge or cost which may be occasioned by maintaining or supporting the servant or slave made free as aforesaid.' This enactment enabled the selectmen to offer an additional inducement to enlistment, for making up the quota of the town. The slave (or servant for term of years) might receive his freedom: the master might secure exemption from draught, and a discharge from future liabilities, to which he must otherwise have been subjected. In point of fact, some hundreds of blacks—slaves and freemen—were enlisted, from time to time, in the regiments of the State troops and of the Connecticut line. *How* many, it is impossible to tell; for, from first to last, the company or regimental rolls indicate *no distinctions* of color. The *name* is the only guide: and, in turning over the rolls of the Connecticut line, the frequent recurrence of names which were exclusively appropriated to negroes and slaves, shows how considerable was their proportion of the material of the Connecticut army; while such surnames as 'Liberty,'

'Freeman,' 'Freedom,' &c., by scores, indicate with what anticipations, and under what inducements, they entered the service. Legislation
in Connecticut.

"As to the efficiency of the service they rendered, I can say nothing from the records, except what is to be gleaned from scattered files, such as one of the petitions I send you. So far as my acquaintance extends, almost every family has its traditions of the good and faithful service of a black servant or slave, who was killed in battle, or served through the war, and came home to tell stories of hard fighting, and draw his pension. In my own native town,—not a large one,—I remember five such pensioners, three of whom, I believe, had been slaves, and, in fact, *were* slaves to the day of their death; for (and this explains the uniform action of the General Assembly on petitions for emancipation) neither the towns nor the State were inclined to exonerate the master, at a time when slavery was becoming unprofitable, from the obligation to provide for the old age of his slave.

"Col. William Browne of Salem (a "mandamus counsellor"), who went with the enemy from Boston in 1776, owned large tracts of land in New London and Hartford counties in Connecticut, entailed by his grandfather, Col. Samuel Browne. The General Court cut off the entail, and confiscated the land. A farm in Lyme of twelve thousand four hundred and thirty-six acres, valued, in 1779, at a hundred and sixty-nine thousand pounds (Continental), had been leased for a term of years, with nine *slaves*. The administrator on confiscated estates, Benjamin Huntington, Esq., when returning the inventory of Mr. Browne's property, stated to the General Assembly that there were 'a number of slaves appraised, who beg for their liberty;' and that the lessee of the farm would assent to their being liberated, without requiring a diminution of his rent.

"Accompanying the inventory is the following petition, in Mr. Huntington's hand-writing:—

"*To the Hon. General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, now sitting in Hartford.*

"*The memorial of Great Prince, Little Prince, Luke, Cæsar, and Prue and her three children,—all friends to America, but slaves (lately belonging to Col. William Browne, now forfeited to this State,)—humbly sheweth, that their late master was a Tory, and fled from his native country to his master, King George; where he now lives like a poor slave.* Petition
of loyal
slaves.

Petition
of loyal
slaves.

“ ‘That your memorialists, though they have flat noses, crooked shins, and other queerness of make, peculiar to Africans, are yet of the human race, free-born in our own country, taken from thence by man-stealers, and sold in this country as cattle in the market, without the least act of our own to forfeit liberty; but we hope our good mistress, *the free State of Connecticut*, engaged in a war with tyranny, will not sell good honest Whigs and friends of the freedom and independence of America, as we are, to raise cash to support the war: because the Whigs ought to be *free*; and the *Tories* should be sold.

“ ‘Wherefore your memorialists pray your Honors to consider their case, and grant them their freedom upon their getting security to indemnify the State from any expense for their support in case of want, or in some other way release them from slavery.

“ ‘And your poor negroes, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

“ ‘GREAT PRINCE.

LITTLE PRINCE.

“ ‘Dated in LYME, Election-day, 1779.’

LUKE, &c.

“ ‘The Lower House *granted*, but the Upper House *negatived*, the prayer of the memorial. A committee of conference was appointed; but each House adhered to its original vote.”

Rhode
Island.

Nowhere in the country was the question of negro soldiers more carefully considered, or the practice of employing them more generally adopted, than in Rhode Island. Not only were the names of colored men entered with those of white citizens on the rolls of the militia, but a distinct regiment of this class of persons was formed. The character and conduct of that regiment have an important place in the history of the Revolutionary War.

My valued friend, John Russell Bartlett, Esquire, Editor of the “Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England,” and Secretary of State, has copied for me, from the manuscripts in the State Archives, the correspondence and legislation relating to the subject. These documents are here presented entire, and give a full history of the whole matter.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR COOKE.

"HEAD QUARTERS, 2d January, 1778.

Negro soldiers in Rhode Island.

"SIR, — Enclosed you will receive a copy of a letter from General Varnum to me, upon the means which might be adopted for completing the Rhode-Island troops to their full proportion in the Continental Army. I have nothing to say, in addition to what I wrote on the 29th of last month, on this important subject, but to desire that you will give the officers employed in this business all the assistance in your power.

"I am, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"His Excellency NICHOLAS COOKE, Esq.,
Governor of Rhode Island."

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

GENERAL VARNUM TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

"CAMP, Jan. 2, 1778.

"SIR, — The two battalions from the State of Rhode Island being small, and there being a necessity of the State's furnishing an additional number to make up their proportion in the Continental Army, the field-officers have represented to me the propriety of making one temporary battalion from the two; so that one entire corps of officers may repair to Rhode Island, in order to receive and prepare the recruits for the field. It is imagined that a battalion of negroes can be easily raised there. Should that measure be adopted, or recruits obtained upon any other principle, the service will be advanced. The field-officers who go upon this command are Colonel Greene, Lieut.-Colonel Olney, and Major Ward; seven captains, twelve lieutenants, six ensigns, one paymaster, one surgeon and mate, one adjutant, and one chaplain.

"I am your Excellency's most obedient servant,

"J. M. VARNUM.

"His Excellency Gen. WASHINGTON."

These letters were laid before the General Assembly at the February session; and, after due deliberation, the following act was passed, not without some opposition: —

"State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in General Assembly. February Session, 1778.

"Whereas, for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the United States, it is necessary that the whole powers of Government

Negro
Regiment
in Rhode
Island.

should be exerted in recruiting the Continental battalions; and whereas His Excellency Gen. Washington hath inclosed to this State a proposal made to him by Brigadier-General Varnum, to enlist into the two battalions, raising by this State, such slaves as should be willing to enter into the service: and whereas history affords us frequent Precedents of the *wisest*, the *freest*, and *bravest* nations having liberated their Slaves, and inlisted them as Soldiers to fight in Defence of their Country; and also, whereas, the Enemy, with a great force, have taken Possession of the Capital and of a great Part of this State; and this State is obliged to raise a very considerable Number of Troops for its own immediate Defence, whereby it is in a Manner rendered impossible for this State to furnish Recruits for the said two Battalions without adopting the said Measure so recommended:

"It is Voted and Resolved, That every able-bodied *negro*, mulatto, or *Indian* man slave, in this State, may inlist into either of the said two battalions to serve during the continuance of the present war with Great Britain: that every slave so inlisting shall be entitled to and receive all the bounties, wages, and encouragements allowed by the Continental Congress to any soldier inlisting into their service.

"It is further Voted and Resolved, That every slave so inlisting shall, upon his passing muster before Col. Christopher Greene, be immediately discharged from the service of his master or mistress, and be absolutely FREE, as though he had never been incumbered with any kind of servitude or slavery. And in case such slave shall, by sickness or otherwise, be rendered unable to maintain himself, he shall not be chargeable to his master or mistress, but shall be supported at the expense of the State.

"And whereas slaves have been by the laws deemed the property of their owners; and therefore compensation ought to be made to the owners for the loss of their service, —

"It is further Voted and Resolved, That there be allowed, and paid by this State to the owner, for every such slave so inlisting, a sum according to his worth; at a price not exceeding one hundred and twenty pounds for the most valuable slave, and in proportion for a slave of less value: *Provided* the owner of said slave shall deliver up to the officer who shall inlist him the clothes of the said slave; or otherwise he shall not be entitled to said sum.

"And for settling and ascertaining the value of such slaves, —

"It is further Voted and Resolved, That a committee of five be

appointed, *to wit* : one from each county ; any three of whom to be a Negro quorum, to examine the slaves who shall be so inlisted, after they shall have passed muster, and to set a price upon each slave according to his value, as aforesaid. Negro
Regiment
in Rhode
Island.

“ *It is further Voted and Resolved*, That upon any able-bodied negro, mulatto, or Indian slave, inlisting as aforesaid, the officer who shall so inlist him, after he has passed muster as aforesaid, shall deliver a certificate thereof to the master or mistress of said negro, mulatto, or Indian slave ; which shall discharge him from the service of said master or mistress as aforesaid.

“ *It is further Voted and Resolved*, That the committee who shall estimate the value of any slave as aforesaid, shall give a certificate of the sum at which he may be valued, to the owner of said slave : and the General Treasurer of this State is hereby empowered and directed to give unto the owner of said slave his promissory note, as Treasurer, as aforesaid, for the sum of money at which he shall be valued as aforesaid, payable on demand, with interest, at the rate of six per cent. per annum ; and that said notes which shall be so given, shall be paid with the money which is due this State, and is expected from Congress, — the money which has been borrowed out of the General Treasury by this Assembly being first replaced.”

The members of the General Assembly opposed to the passage of this Act embodied their objections to it in a Protest. The difficulties which they apprehended were not found to exist to such an extent as to defeat the project.

“ *Protest against enlisting Slaves to serve in the Army.*

“ We, the subscribers, beg leave to dissent from the vote of the Lower House ordering a regiment of negroes to be raised for the Continental service, for the following reasons ; viz.

“ 1st, Because, in our opinion, there is not a sufficient number of negroes in the State who would have an inclination to inlist, and would pass muster, to constitute a regiment ; and raising several companies of blacks would not answer the purposes intended : and therefore the attempt to constitute said regiment would prove abortive, and be a fruitless expense to the State.

“ 2d, The raising such a regiment upon the footing proposed would suggest an idea, and produce an opinion in the world, that the

Negro soldiers in Rhode Island.

State had purchased a band of slaves to be employed in the defence of the rights and liberties of our country : which is wholly inconsistent with those principles of liberty and constitutional government for which we are so ardently contending ; and would be looked upon by the neighboring States in a contemptible point of view, and not equal to their troops ; and they would, therefore, be unwilling that we should have credit for them as for an equal number of white troops ; and would also give occasion to our enemies to suspect that we are not able to procure our own people to oppose them in the field, and to retort upon us the same kind of ridicule we so liberally bestowed upon them on account of Dunmore's regiment of blacks ; or possibly might suggest to them the idea of employing black regiments against us.

"3d, The expense of purchasing and inlisting said regiment, in the manner proposed, will vastly exceed the expenses of raising an equal number of white men ; and, at the same time, will not have the like good effect.

"4th, Great difficulties and uneasiness will arise in purchasing the negroes from their masters ; and many of the masters will not be satisfied with any prices allowed.

"JOHN NORTHUP.
JAMES BABCOCK, Jr.
OTHNIEL GORTON.

GEORGE PEIRCE.
SYLVESTER GARDNER.
SAMUEL BABCOCK."

THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND TO GEN. WASHINGTON.

"PROVIDENCE, Feb. 23, 1778.

"SIR, — I have been favored with your Excellency's letter of the third instant [2d ultimo?], enclosing a proposal made to you by General Varnum for recruiting the two Continental battalions raised by this State.

"I laid the letter before the General Assembly at their session, on the second Monday in this month ; who, considering the pressing necessity of filling up the Continental Army, and the peculiarly difficult circumstances of this State, — which rendered it, in a manner, impossible to recruit our battalions in any other way, — adopted the measure.

"Liberty is given to every effective slave to enter the service during the war ; and, upon his passing muster, he is absolutely made free, and entitled to all the wages, bounties, and encouragements given by Congress to any soldier enlisting into their service. The masters

are allowed at the rate of £120 for the most valuable slave, and in proportion to those of less value.

"The number of slaves in this State is not great; but it is generally thought that three hundred and upwards will be enlisted.

"I am, with great respect, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

"NICHOLAS COOKE.

"To Gen. WASHINGTON."

At the session of the General Assembly in which the Act was passed,—

"It is *voted and resolved*, That Messrs. Thomas Rumreil, Christopher Lippitt, Samuel Babcock, Thomas Tillinghast, and Josiah Humphrey, be, and they are hereby, appointed a committee to estimate the value of the slaves who may enlist into the Continental battalions, agreeably to a resolve of this Assembly."

A short time after the act was passed, March the 9th,—

"It is *voted and resolved*, That the masters of all negro slaves, who are bound out as apprentices, that already have inlisted or shall inlist into the Continental service, shall be entitled to receive out of the General Treasury the annual interest of the sum the said slaves shall be appraised at, until the expiration of their apprenticeships; and that the money remain in the treasury until the expiration of the said apprenticeships, and then be paid to the owner without interest."

As it was not desirable to extend indefinitely the offer of freedom to slaves enlisting under this act, the General Assembly, at their May Session, adopted the following preamble and resolution:—

"Whereas, by an act of this Assembly, negro, mulatto, and Indian slaves, belonging to the inhabitants of this State, are permitted to inlist into the Continental battalions ordered to be raised by this State, and are thereupon for ever manumitted and discharged from the service of their masters; and whereas it is necessary, for answering the purposes intended by the said act, that the same shall be temporary,—

"It is *therefore voted and resolved*, that no negro, mulatto, or Indian slave, be permitted to inlist into said battalions from and after the tenth day of June next; and that the said act then expire, and be no longer in force, any thing therein to the contrary notwithstanding."

Negro soldiers in Rhode Island.

Negro soldiers in Rhode Island.

At the October Session, 1778,—

"It is *voted and resolved*, That the General Treasurer pay unto the owners of slaves who have enlisted as aforesaid, and who have not received notes for the estimated value of the same, the sums of money at which they were appraised, upon their producing certificates thereof from the committee appointed to give the same ; and that the said owners be permitted to receive the whole or any part of the value of their slaves in Continental loan-office certificates."

There is abundant evidence of the fidelity and bravery of the colored patriots of Rhode Island during the whole war. Before they had been formed into a separate regiment, they had fought valiantly with the white soldiers at Red Bank and elsewhere. Their conduct at the "Battle of Rhode Island," on the 29th of August, 1778, entitles them to perpetual honor. That battle has been pronounced by military authorities to have been one of the best fought battles of the Revolutionary War. Its success was owing, in a great degree, to the good fighting of the Negro soldiers. Mr. Arnold, in his "History of Rhode Island," thus closes his account of it:—

Colonel Greene's Black Regiment.

"A third time the enemy, with desperate courage and increased strength, attempted to assail the redoubt, and would have carried it, but for the timely aid of two Continental battalions despatched by Sullivan to support his almost exhausted troops. It was in repelling these furious onsets, that the newly raised black regiment, under Col. Greene, distinguished itself by deeds of desperate valor. Posted behind a thicket in the valley, they three times drove back the Hessians, who charged repeatedly down the hill to dislodge them ; and so determined were the enemy in these successive charges, that, the day after the battle, the Hessian colonel, upon whom this duty had devolved, applied to exchange his command, and go to New York, because he dared not lead his regiment again to battle, lest his men should shoot him for having caused them so much loss."—*Arnold's History of Rhode Island*, vol. ii. pp. 427, 428.

Three years later, these soldiers are thus mentioned by the Marquis de Chastellux:—

"The 5th [of January, 1781] I did not set out till eleven, although I had thirty miles' journey to Lebanon. At the passage to the ferry, I met with a detachment of the Rhode-Island regiment, — the same corps we had with us all the last summer; but they have since been recruited and clothed. The greatest part of them are negroes or mulattoes: but they are strong, robust men; and those I have seen had a very good appearance." — *Chastellux' Travels*, vol. i. p. 454; London, 1789.

Negro soldiers in Rhode Island.

When Colonel Greene was surprised and murdered, near Points Bridge, New York, on the 14th of May, 1781, his colored soldiers heroically defended him till they were cut to pieces, and the enemy reached him over the dead bodies of his faithful negroes.

In the spring of 1778, the General Court of Massachusetts, also, was invoked to sanction the enlisting of negro soldiers. This would not have been without a precedent in her earlier legislation; for, in 1652, "negroes, Indians, and Scotchmen" (the indentured captives of Cromwell, who had encountered his army at the battle of Dunbar), were alike, by law, obliged to train in the militia. In 1656, the law was altered so as to exempt "negroes and Indians"; but again, in 1660, a new law required "*every person* above the age of sixteen years" to train, except certain classes of persons specified, and "except one servant of every magistrate and teaching elder, and the sons and servants of the Major-General for the time being." Those who are curious in tracing the early legislation on the subject will notice the continuance of this vacillation into the next century.

Massachusetts.

On the 3d and the 7th of April, 1778, just before the doings of the Rhode-Island General Assembly were communicated to the Legislature of Massachusetts, Thomas Kench, belonging to a regiment of artillery then at Castle Island, addressed to the General Court the following letters, which speak for themselves:—

Massachu-
setts.

*"To the Honorable Council, and House of Representatives, Boston, or
at Roxbury.*

Thomas
Kench's
letter.

"HONORED GENTLEMEN, — At the opening of this campaign, our forces should be all ready, well equipped with arms and ammunition, with clothing sufficient to stand them through the campaign, their wages to be paid monthly, so as not to give the soldiery so much reason of complaint as it is the general cry from the soldiery amongst whom I am connected.

"We have accounts of large re-enforcements a-coming over this spring against us ; and we are not so strong this spring, I think, as we were last. Great numbers have deserted ; numbers have died, besides what is sick, and incapable of duty, or bearing arms in the field.

"I think it is highly necessary that some new augmentation should be added to the army this summer, — all the re-enforcements that can possibly be obtained. For now is the time to exert ourselves or never ; for, if the enemy can get no further hold this campaign than they now possess, we [have] no need to fear much from them hereafter.

"A re-enforcement can quick be raised of two or three hundred men. Will your honors grant the liberty, and give me the command of the party ? And what I refer to is negroes. We have divers of them in our service, mixed with white men. But I think it would be more proper to raise a body by themselves, than to have them intermixed with the white men ; and their ambition would entirely be to out-do the white men in every measure that the fortune of war calls a soldier to endure. And I could rely with dependance upon them in the field of battle, or to any post that I was sent to defend with them ; and they would think themselves happy could they gain their freedom by bearing a part of subduing the enemy that is invading our land, and clear a peaceful inheritance for their masters, and posterity yet to come, that they are now slaves to.

"The method that I would point out to your Honors in raising a detachment of negroes ; — that a company should consist of a hundred, including commissioned officers ; and that the commissioned officers should be white, and consist of one captain, one captain-lieutenant, two second lieutenants ; the orderly sergeant white ; and that there should be three sergeants black, four corporals black, two drums and two fifes black, and eighty-four rank and file. These should engage

to serve till the end of the war, and then be free men. And I doubt not, that no gentleman that is a friend to his country will disapprove of this plan, or be against his negroes enlisting into the service to maintain the cause of freedom, and suppress the worse than savage enemies of our land.

Massachusetts.

"I beg your Honors to grant me the liberty of raising one company, if no more. It will be far better than to fill up our battalions with runaways and deserters from Gen. Burgoyne's army, who, after receiving clothing and the bounty, in general make it their business to desert from us. In the lieu thereof, if they are [of] a mind to serve in America, let them supply the families of those gentlemen where those negroes belong that should engage.

"I rest, relying on your Honors' wisdom in this matter, as it will be a quick way of having a re-enforcement to join the grand army, or to act in any other place that occasion shall require; and I will give my faith and assurance that I will act upon honor and fidelity, should I take the command of such a party as I have been describing.

"So I rest till your Honors shall call me; and am your very humble and obedient servant,

"THOMAS KENCH,

"In Col. Craft's Regiment of Artillery, now on Castle Island.

"CASTLE ISLAND, April 3, 1778."

"To the Honorable Council in Boston.

"The letter I wrote before I heard of the disturbance with Col. Seares, Mr. Spear, and a number of other gentlemen, concerning the freedom of negroes, in Congress Street. It is a pity that riots should be committed on the occasion, as it is justifiable that negroes should have their freedom, and none amongst us be held as slaves, as freedom and liberty is the grand controversy that we are contending for; and I trust, under the smiles of Divine Providence, we shall obtain it, if all our minds can but be united; and putting the negroes into the service will prevent much uneasiness, and give more satisfaction to those that are offended at the thoughts of their servants being free.

Thomas Kench's second letter.

"I will not enlarge, for fear I should give offence; but subscribe myself

Your faithful servant,

"THOMAS KENCH.

"CASTLE ISLAND, April 7, 1778."

(MS. Archives of Massachusetts, vol. cxcix. pp. 80, 84.)

Massachu-
setts.

On the 11th of April, the former of the above letters was duly referred to a joint committee, "to consider the same, and report." On the 17th, "a resolution of the General Assembly of Rhode Island for enlisting negroes in the public service" was referred to the same committee. On the 28th, they reported the draught of a law, differing little from the Rhode-Island Resolution: but a separate organization of negro companies, by Kench, does not appear to have been deemed advisable at that time; and the usage was continued, of "having," in the words of Kench, "negroes in our service, intermixed with the white men."

Many other specimens of legislative action on the subject in the Northern and Middle States might be produced; but enough have already been given to show the general current of public sentiment in this part of the country. An extract from a letter to Washington, written by John Cadwalader at Annapolis, Md., June 5, 1781, relates to the doings of that State:—

Maryland.

"We have resolved to raise, immediately, seven hundred and fifty negroes, to be incorporated with the other troops; and a bill is now almost completed."—*Sparks's Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 331.

In an act passed by the Legislature of New York, March 20, 1781, for the purpose of raising two regiments upon the inducement of "bounty lands unappropriated," is to be found the following section:—

New York.

"SECT. 6.—And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that any person who shall deliver one or more of his or her able-bodied male slaves to any warrant officer, as aforesaid, to serve in either of the said regiments or independent corps, and produce a certificate thereof, signed by any person authorized to muster and receive the men to be raised by virtue of this act, and produce such certificate to the Surveyor-General, shall, for every male slave so entered and mustered as aforesaid, be entitled to the location and grant of one right, in manner as in and by this act is directed; and shall be, and

hereby is, discharged from any future maintenance of such slave, any New York. law to the contrary notwithstanding: And such slave so entered as aforesaid, who shall serve for the term of three years or until regularly discharged, shall, immediately after such service or discharge, be, and is hereby declared to be, a free man of this State." — *Laws of the State of New York, Chap. 32, (March 20, 1781, Fourth Session.)*

Tacitly or by positive law, the policy of arming the negroes and employing them as soldiers, either in separate companies or mingled in the ranks with white citizens, almost everywhere prevailed. In Georgia and South Carolina, however, where there was the most urgent call for more troops, and where the slave-holders were backward in enlisting, the case was different. These States, it will be remembered, contained so many Tories, whose sympathies were with the enemy, that it was impossible to obtain from them enough soldiers for a "home-guard."

It may not be amiss for Massachusetts men to refresh their memories by referring to the history of their Commonwealth in regard to supplying soldiers during the Revolution; and it may be well for all to notice, that, where there was the greatest opposition to the arming and employing of negroes as soldiers, there was the least disposition to furnish a fair supply of white soldiers. The following items of Revolutionary history were published several years since by our associate, the Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, in the historical essay prefixed to his excellent history of the "American Loyalists":—

"The whole number of regulars enlisted for the Continental service, from the beginning to the close of the struggle, was 231,959. Of these, I have once remarked, 67,907 were from Massachusetts; and I may now add, that every State south of Pennsylvania provided but 59,493, or 8,414 less than this single State; and that New England — now, I grieve to say, contemned and reproached — equipped and maintained 118,350, or above half of the number placed at the service of Congress during the war. I would not press these facts to the injury of the Whigs of the South. The war, after the evacuation of Boston, I am aware, was transferred from New England to the

Where the
soldiers
came from.

Where the
soldiers
came from.

Middle and Southern States; and these States accordingly required bodies of troops to be kept at home to protect themselves. But as it is to be presumed that most of *such bodies* composed a part of the regular force employed by Congress, and were, therefore, *included* in the Continental establishment and pay, the argument is in no essential particular weakened by the admission, that the Whigs of the South were, of necessity, employed in the defence of their own fire-sides; for, were this the truth of the case, *the numbers* in this service, as well as in other, would still appear, in making up the aggregate force *enlisted* from time to time in each State. The exact question is, then, not *where* were the battle-grounds of the Revolution, but what was the *proportion* of men which each of the thirteen States *supplied* for the contest.

“In considering the political condition of Virginia and North Carolina, it was admitted that these States were not able to provide troops according to their population, as compared with the States destitute of a ‘peculiar institution.’ The same admission is now made in behalf of South Carolina. Yet did 6,660 Whig soldiers exhaust her resources of men? Could she furnish only 752 more than Rhode Island, the smallest State in the Confederacy; only one-fifth of the number of Connecticut; only one-half as many as New Hampshire, then almost an unbroken wilderness? She did not: she could not defend herself against her own Tories; and it is hardly an exaggeration to add, that *more Whigs of other States were sent to her aid, and now lie buried in her soil, than she herself sent to every scene of strife outside of her own borders from Lexington to Yorktown.*

“South Carolina, with a Northern army to assist her, could not or would not even preserve her own capital. When news reached Connecticut that Gage had sent a force into the country, and that blood had been shed, Putnam was at work in his field. Leaving his plough in the furrow, he started for Cambridge, without changing his garments. When Stark heard the same tidings, he was sawing pine-logs, and without a coat: shutting down the gate of his mill, he commenced his journey to Boston in his shirt-sleeves. The same spirit animated the Whigs far and near; and the capital of New England was invested with fifteen thousand armed men.

“How was it at Charleston? That city was the great mart of the South, and, what Boston still is, the centre of the export and import trade of a large population. In grandeur, in splendor of buildings, in decorations, in equipages, in shipping and commerce, Charleston was

equal to any city in America. But its citizens did not rally to save it; and Gen. Lincoln was compelled to accept of terms of capitulation. He was much censured for the act. Yet whoever calmly examines the circumstances will be satisfied, I think, that the measure was unavoidable; and that the inhabitants, as a body, preferred to return to their allegiance to the British Crown. The people, on whom Congress and Gen. Lincoln depended to complete his force, refused to enlist under the Whig banner; but, after the surrender of the city, they flocked to the royal standard by hundreds. In a word, so general was the defection, that persons who had enjoyed Lincoln's confidence joined the royal side; and men who had participated in his councils bowed their necks anew to the yoke of Colonial vassalage. Sir Henry Clinton considered his triumph complete, and communicated to the ministry the intelligence that the whole State had yielded submission to the royal arms, and had become again a part of the empire. To the women of South Carolina, and to Marion, Sumpter, and Pickens, the celebrated partisan chiefs, who kept the field without the promise of men, money, or supplies, it was owing that Sir Henry's declaration did not prove entirely true for a time, and that the name and the spirit of liberty did not become utterly extinct."—*The American Loyalists*, pp. 30–33, (as corrected by the author for a second edition.)

Where the
soldiers
came from.

This statement was not allowed to pass without contradiction, and the author of it was fiercely reproached. His facts and figures were called in question; but they were not proved to be incorrect. From a recent careful examination of the statistics as contained in the official report of General Knox, the Secretary of War, made to Congress in 1790, I am satisfied that Mr. Sabine, in this case, has not departed from his general practice of stating with scrupulous accuracy and impartiality the simple facts relating to his subject.

The difficulty of obtaining a sufficient number of white soldiers in the Southern States to defend them from the invasion of the enemy, and the fact that the employment of negroes, where the practice had prevailed, had proved entirely successful, led to a vigorous effort in Congress and elsewhere to take advantage of this class of persons for

increasing the army, particularly in Georgia and South Carolina. Colonel John Laurens, of South Carolina, was one of the most earnest advocates of the measure. His father, the Hon. Henry Laurens, on the 16th of March, 1779, wrote to Washington:—

Henry
Laurens
to Wash-
ington.

“Our affairs in the Southern department are more favorable than we had considered them a few days ago; nevertheless, the country is greatly distressed, and will be more so unless further reinforcements are sent to its relief. Had we arms for three thousand such black men as I could select in Carolina, I should have no doubt of success in driving the British out of Georgia, and subduing East Florida, before the end of July.” — *Sparks's Washington*, vol. vi. p. 204, note.

Washing-
ton to
Henry
Laurens.

In his reply to Mr. Laurens, on the 20th of the same month, Washington, with his characteristic caution and modesty, suggests his doubts, but adds that they are “only the first crude ideas” that struck him.

“The policy of our arming slaves, is, in my opinion, a moot point, unless the enemy set the example. For, should we begin to form battalions of them, I have not the smallest doubt, if the war is to be prosecuted, of their following us in it, and justifying the measure upon our own ground. The contest then must be, who can arm fastest. And where are our arms? Besides, I am not clear that a discrimination will not render slavery more irksome to those who remain in it. Most of the good and evil things in this life are judged of by comparison; and I fear a comparison in this case will be productive of much discontent in those who are held in servitude. But, as this is a subject that has never employed much of my thoughts, these are no more than the first crude ideas that have struck me upon the occasion.” — *Sparks's Washington*, vol. vi. p. 204.

Alexander Hamilton, who had thought much on the subject, and had considered it in its various relations, gave his unqualified and hearty support to the measure. In a letter to Mr. Jay, which has been preserved and published, he states his views with great clearness:—

"HEADQUARTERS, March 14, 1779.

"TO JOHN JAY.

"DEAR SIR,—Col. Laurens, who will have the honor of delivering you this letter, is on his way to South Carolina, on a project which I think, in the present situation of affairs there, is a very good one, and deserves every kind of support and encouragement. This is, to raise two, three, or four battalions of negroes, with the assistance of the government of that State, by contributions from the owners, in proportion to the number they possess. If you should think proper to enter upon the subject with him, he will give you a detail of his plan. He wishes to have it recommended by Congress to the State; and, as an inducement, that they should engage to take those battalions into Continental pay.

Alexander
Hamilton.

"It appears to me, that an expedient of this kind, in the present state of Southern affairs, is the most rational that can be adopted, and promises very important advantages. Indeed, I hardly see how a sufficient force can be collected in that quarter without it; and the enemy's operations there are growing infinitely more serious and formidable. I have not the least doubt that the negroes will make very excellent soldiers with proper management; and I will venture to pronounce, that they cannot be put into better hands than those of Mr. Laurens. He has all the zeal, intelligence, enterprise, and every other qualification, necessary to succeed in such an undertaking. It is a maxim with some great military judges, that, with sensible officers, soldiers can hardly be too stupid; and, on this principle, it is thought that the Russians would make the best troops in the world, if they were under other officers than their own. The King of Prussia is among the number who maintain this doctrine; and has a very emphatic saying on the occasion, which I do not exactly recollect. I mention this because I hear it frequently objected to the scheme of embodying negroes, that they are too stupid to make soldiers. This is so far from appearing to me a valid objection, that I think their want of cultivation (for their natural faculties are probably as good as ours), joined to that habit of subordination which they acquire from a life of servitude, will make them sooner become soldiers than our white inhabitants. Let officers be men of sense and sentiment; and the nearer the soldiers approach to machines, perhaps the better.

"I foresee that this project will have to combat much opposition from prejudice and self-interest. The contempt we have been taught

Alexander
Hamilton.

to entertain for the blacks makes us fancy many things that are founded neither in reason nor experience; and an unwillingness to part with property of so valuable a kind will furnish a thousand arguments to show the impracticability or pernicious tendency of a scheme which requires such a sacrifice. But it should be considered, that, if we do not make use of them in this way, the enemy probably will; and that the best way to counteract the temptations they will hold out will be to offer them ourselves. An essential part of the plan is to give them their freedom with their muskets. This will secure their fidelity, animate their courage, and, I believe, will have a good influence upon those who remain, by opening a door to their emancipation. This circumstance, I confess, has no small weight in inducing me to wish the success of the project; for the dictates of humanity, and true policy, equally interest me in favor of this unfortunate class of men.

“With the truest respect and esteem,

“I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

“ALEX. HAMILTON.”

(Life of John Jay, by William Jay, vol. ii. pp. 31, 32.)

Congress
recom-
mends
negro en-
listments.

Congress, although it had no power to control the action of the individual States in this matter, considered the subject so important, that it was referred to a special committee, who prepared a report, that led to the adoption of a series of resolutions, recommending to “the States of South Carolina and Georgia, if they shall think the same expedient, to take measures immediately for raising three thousand able-bodied negroes.”

“IN CONGRESS, March 29, 1779.

“The Committee, consisting of Mr. Burke; Mr. Laurens, Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Dyer, appointed to take into consideration the circumstances of the Southern States, and the ways and means for their safety and defence, report, —

“That the State of South Carolina, as represented by the delegates of the said State and by Mr. Huger, who has come hither, at the request of the Governor of the said State, on purpose to explain the particular circumstances thereof, is unable to make any effectual efforts with militia, by reason of the great proportion of

citizens necessary to remain at home to prevent insurrections among the negroes, and to prevent the desertion of them to the enemy.

"That the state of the country, and the great numbers of those people among them, expose the inhabitants to great danger from the endeavors of the enemy to excite them either to revolt or desert.

Congress
recom-
mends ne-
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ments.

"That it is suggested by the delegates of the said State and by Mr. Huger, that a force might be raised in the said State from among the negroes, which would not only be formidable to the enemy from their numbers, and the discipline of which they would very readily admit, but would also lessen the danger from revolts and desertions, by detaching the most vigorous and enterprising from among the negroes.

"That, as this measure may involve inconveniences peculiarly affecting the States of South Carolina and Georgia, the Committee are of opinion that the same should be submitted to the governing powers of the said States; and, if the said powers shall judge it expedient to raise such a force, that the United States ought to defray the expense thereof: whereupon,

"Resolved, That it be recommended to the States of South Carolina and Georgia, if they shall think the same expedient, to take measures immediately for raising three thousand able-bodied negroes.

"That the said negroes be formed into separate corps, as battalions, according to the arrangements adopted for the main army, to be commanded by white commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

"That the commissioned officers be appointed by the said States.

"That the non-commissioned officers may, if the said States respectively shall think proper, be taken from among the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Continental battalions of the said States respectively.

"That the Governors of the said States, together with the commanding officer of the Southern army, be empowered to incorporate the several Continental battalions of their States with each other respectively, agreeably to the arrangement of the army, as established by the resolutions of May 27, 1778; and to appoint such of the supernumerary officers to command the said negroes as shall choose to go into that service.

"Resolved, That Congress will make provision for paying the proprietors of such negroes as shall be enlisted for the service of the United States during the war a full compensation for the property, at a rate not exceeding one thousand dollars for each active, able-

Congress
recom-
mends ne-
gro enlist-
ments.

bodied negro man of standard size, not exceeding thirty-five years of age, who shall be so enlisted and pass muster.

“That no pay or bounty be allowed to the said negroes; but that they be clothed and subsisted at the expense of the United States.

“That every negro who shall well and faithfully serve as a soldier to the end of the present war, and shall then return his arms, be emancipated, and receive the sum of fifty dollars.” — *Secret Journals of Congress*, vol. i. pp. 107-110.

On the same day that the report in favor of raising negro troops was made, Congress passed the following resolution: —

“Whereas John Laurens, Esq., who has heretofore acted as aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief, is desirous of repairing to South Carolina, with a design to assist in defence of the Southern States; —

“Resolved, That a commission of lieutenant-colonel be granted to the said John Laurens, Esq.” — *Journals of Congress*, vol. v. p. 123.

Col. John Laurens was the son of the Hon. Henry Laurens, the distinguished member of Congress and at one time President of that body. He was one of the most patriotic and brave of the Southern officers, and has not improperly been called the “Chevalier Bayard of America.” He was the intimate friend of Washington and Hamilton. Having been in active service in Rhode Island and elsewhere, and having had the best opportunities of witnessing the usefulness of the colored soldiers, he entered into the spirit of the undertaking with his whole heart, and used his best efforts to promote its success. For this purpose, he went to his native State, and used his personal influence to induce the Legislature to take the necessary steps for raising black troops. In a letter to Hamilton, he says, —

Colonel
Laurens.

“Ternant will relate to you how many violent struggles I have had between duty and inclination, — how much my heart was with you, while I appeared to be most actively employed here. But it appears to me, that I should be inexcusable in the light of a citizen, if I did not continue my utmost efforts for carrying the plan of the

black levies into execution, while there remain the smallest hopes of success." — *Works of Hamilton*, vol. i. pp. 114, 115.

On the 14th of February, 1780, Col. Laurens wrote to Washington from Charleston:—

"Private accounts say that General Prevost is left to command at Savannah; that his troops consist of the Hessians and Loyalists that were there before, re-enforced by a corps of blacks and a detachment of savages. It is generally reported that Sir Henry Clinton commands the present expedition." — *Sparks's Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 402. Colonel Laurens.

It should be borne in mind that Sir Henry Clinton had several months previously issued a proclamation, calling upon negroes to join his army, either as soldiers, or with full security to follow any occupation within his lines which they thought proper. This proclamation was first printed in New York, in Rivington's "Royal Gazette," on the 3d of July, 1779. It is here reprinted from that journal. The words in Italics were added in the issue of August 25th, with a note stating that they had, "through the mistake of the printers, been hitherto omitted." Sir Henry Clinton's Proclamation.

"By his Excellency Sir HENRY CLINTON, K.B. General and Commander-in-chief of all his Majesty's Forces within the Colonies laying on the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova Scotia to West-Florida, inclusive, &c., &c., &c.

PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas the enemy have adopted a practice of enrolling NEGROES among their Troops, I do hereby give notice That all NEGROES taken in arms, or upon any military Duty, shall be purchased for the public service at a stated Price; the money to be paid to the Captors.

"But I do most strictly forbid any Person to sell or claim Right over any NEGROE, the property of a Rebel, who may take Refuge with any part of this Army: And I do promise to every NEGROE who shall desert the Rebel Standard, full security to follow within these Lines, any Occupation which he shall think proper.

"Given under my Hand, at Head-Quarters, PHILIPSBURGH, the 30th day of June, 1779.

"H. CLINTON.

"By his Excellency's command,
"JOHN SMITH, Secretary."

Lord Cornwallis's
Proclamation.

Lord Cornwallis also issued a proclamation encouraging the slaves to join the British Army; but it is well known that no regard for their welfare prompted his action, and but little kindness was shown by him to the slaves who deserted their masters, or who were compelled to leave them. A letter from Mr. Jefferson to Dr. Gordon, written several years after the war was closed, contains a passage which shows how that statesman regarded the treatment of his own negroes.

Thomas
Jefferson
to Doctor
Gordon.

"Lord Cornwallis destroyed all my growing crops of corn and tobacco; he burned all my barns, containing the same articles of the last year, having first taken what corn he wanted; he used, as was to be expected, all my stock of cattle, sheep, and hogs, for the sustenance of his army, and carried off all the horses capable of service; of those too young for service he cut the throats; and he burned all the fences on the plantation, so as to leave it an absolute waste. *He carried off also about thirty slaves. Had this been to give them freedom, he would have done right;* but it was to consign them to inevitable death from the small-pox and putrid fever, then raging in his camp. This I knew afterwards to be the fate of twenty-seven of them. I never had news of the remaining three, but presume they shared the same fate. When I say that Lord Cornwallis did all this, I do not mean that he carried about the torch in his own hands, but that it was all done under his eye; the situation of the house, in which he was, commanding a view of every part of the plantation, so that he must have seen every fire. I relate these things on my own knowledge, in a great degree, as I was on the ground soon after he left it. He treated the rest of the neighborhood somewhat in the same style, but not with that spirit of total extermination with which he seemed to rage over my possessions. Wherever he went, the dwelling-houses were plundered of every thing which could be carried off. Lord Cornwallis's character in England would forbid the belief that he shared in the plunder; but that his table was served with the plate thus pillaged from private houses, can be proved by many hundred eye-witnesses. From an estimate I made at that time, on the best information I could collect, I supposed *the State of Virginia lost, under Lord Cornwallis's hand, that year, about thirty thousand slaves; and that, of these, twenty-seven thousand died of the*

small-pox and camp-fever; and the rest were partly sent to the West Indies, and exchanged for rum, sugar, coffee, and fruit; and partly sent to New York, from whence they went, at the peace, either to Nova Scotia or to England. From this last place, I believe, they have been lately sent to Africa. History will never relate the horrors committed by the British Army in the Southern States of America. — *Jefferson's Works*, vol. ii. p. 426.

It is very evident from this statement, that the distrust and fears on the part of the negroes, in regard to the promises of the British officers, Dunmore, Clinton, and Cornwallis, were well founded. In striking contrast to their treatment of the slaves is the noble sentiment of Jefferson, himself a severe sufferer from the conduct of Cornwallis: "*Had this been to give them freedom, he would have done right.*"

In the autumn of the year 1780, Colonel Laurens was sent on an important mission to France. The policy which he so warmly advocated in his own State and in Georgia was not, however, neglected during his absence.

General Lincoln repeatedly and earnestly implored that the army in the South might be strengthened in this, which seemed to be the only practicable way. In a letter to Governor Rutledge, dated Charleston, March 13, 1780, he says: —

"Give me leave to add once more, that I think the measure of raising a black corps a necessary one; that I have great reason to believe, if permission is given for it, that many men would soon be obtained. I have repeatedly urged this matter, not only because Congress have recommended it, and because it thereby becomes my duty to attempt to have it executed, but because my own mind suggests the utility and importance of the measure, as the safety of the town makes it necessary." — *Manuscript Letter*. General Lincoln.

Mr. Madison, in a letter to Joseph Jones, dated November 20, 1780, thus advocated the policy of freeing and arming the negroes: —

"Yours of the 18th came yesterday. I am glad to find the Legislature persist in their resolution to recruit their line of the army for James Madison.

James
Madison.

the war; though, without deciding on the expediency of the mode under their consideration, would it not be as well to liberate and make soldiers at once of the blacks themselves, as to make them instruments for enlisting white soldiers? It would certainly be more consonant with the principles of liberty, which ought never to be lost sight of in a contest for liberty: and, with white officers and a majority of white soldiers, no imaginable danger could be feared from themselves, as there certainly could be none from the effect of the example on those who should remain in bondage; experience having shown that a freedman immediately loses all attachment and sympathy with his former fellow-slaves."—*Madison Papers*, p. 68.

On the 28th of February, 1781, General Greene, who was then in North Carolina, wrote to Washington:—

General
Greene.

"The enemy have ordered two regiments of negroes to be immediately embodied, and are drafting a great proportion of the young men of that State [South Carolina], to serve during the war."—*Sparks's Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 246.

Colonel Laurens, some time after his return from France, resumed his efforts to induce the slaveholders of South Carolina and Georgia to allow their negroes to enlist as soldiers in the Continental Army; and, although he found that "truth and philosophy had gained some ground," he was compelled to say that "the single voice of reason was drowned by the howlings of a triple-headed monster, in which prejudice, avarice, and pusillanimity were united." Two letters, written by him only a few months before he laid down his life for his country in battle, contain further evidence of his faithful efforts, and a sad account of the manner in which his purposes were defeated. Both of these letters were addressed to Washington. The first was dated May 19, 1782.

Colonel
Laurens to
Washing-
ton.

"The plan which brought me to this country was urged with all the zeal which the subject inspired, both in our Privy Council and Assembly; but the single voice of reason was drowned by the howlings of a triple-headed monster, in which prejudice, avarice, and pusillanimity were united. It was some degree of consolation to me, however, to perceive that truth and philosophy had gained some

ground ; the suffrages in favor of the measure being twice as numerous as on a former occasion. Some hopes have been lately given me from Georgia ; but I fear, when the question is put, we shall be outvoted there with as much disparity as we have been in this country.

Colonel
Laurens to
Washington.

“ I earnestly desire to be where any active plans are likely to be executed, and to be near your Excellency on all occasions in which my services can be acceptable. The pursuit of an object which, I confess, is a favorite one with me, because I always regarded the interests of this country and those of the Union as intimately connected with it, has detached me more than once from your family ; but those sentiments of veneration and attachment with which your Excellency has inspired me, keep me always near you, with the sincerest and most zealous wishes for a continuance of your happiness and glory.” — *Sparks's Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 506.

The last letter was dated June 12, 1782 ; and from it we learn that his hope of accomplishing something in this way clung to him to the last.

“ The approaching session of the Georgia Legislature, and the encouragement given me by Governor Howley, who has a decisive influence in the counsels of that country, induce me to remain in this quarter for the purpose of taking new measures on the subject of our black levies. The arrival of Colonel Baylor, whose seniority entitles him to the command of the light troops, affords me ample leisure for pursuing the business in person ; and I shall do it with all the tenacity of a man making a last effort on so interesting an occasion.” — *Sparks's Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 515.

Washington, however, seems to have lost all faith in the patriotism of the men who continued to refuse aid to their suffering country in the only practicable way which had been suggested. He has seldom said any thing so severe as the following words, in his reply to the first of the above letters : —

Washington
to Col.
Laurens.

“ I must confess that I am not at all astonished at the failure of your plan. That spirit of freedom, which, at the commencement

Washington to Colonel Laurens.

of this contest, would have gladly sacrificed every thing to the attainment of its object, has long since subsided, and every selfish passion has taken its place. It is not the public but private interest which influences the generality of mankind; nor can the Americans any longer boast an exception. Under these circumstances, it would rather have been suprising if you had succeeded; nor will you, I fear, have better success in Georgia." — *Sparks's Washington*, vol. iii. pp. 322, 323.

Colonel Humphreys.

The friend and associate of Colonel Laurens, as a member of Washington's family, and a fellow-soldier in more than one battle, Colonel David Humphreys, gave the sanction of his name and the influence of his popularity to the raising of colored troops in Connecticut.

"In November, 1782, he was, by resolution of Congress, commissioned as a Lieutenant-Colonel, with order that his commission should bear date from the 23d of June, 1780, when he received his appointment as aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief. He had, when in active service, given the sanction of his name and influence in the establishment of a company of colored infantry, attached to Meigs', afterwards Butler's, regiment, in the Connecticut line. He continued to be the nominal captain of that company until the establishment of peace." — *Biographical Sketch in "The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans."*

Lord Dunmore.

Lord Dunmore's efforts to secure the services of negroes, at the commencement of the Revolutionary War, are well known; his proclamation, and the action of the Virginia Convention upon it, having been published at the time, and the matter having occasioned much comment since. By the courtesy of Mr. Bancroft, who has kindly put into my hands the *unpublished original manuscript* of the following letter and "sketch," and also a copy of Lord Dunmore's private letter to Sir Henry Clinton enclosing them, I am now enabled to present the views of his Lordship on the subject seven years later, and just before the close of hostilities.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE EARL DUNMORE, &C.

“CHARLES TOWN, 5th January, 1782.

“MY LORD,— Since I had the honor of seeing your Lordship, I have revolved in my mind the subject-matter of our conversation; and the more I think, the more I am convinced of the magnitude and national importance of the object. It is long since I beheld the scheme in the most favorable point of view, and often have I strenuously recommended it. There were, at the time the thought first seriously made an impression on my mind, some very powerful and uncontroversible reasons; namely, the impossibility, that I foresaw, of maintaining and supporting troops from Europe, in the low parts of this country, during the sickly season. The fall months have caused such mortality in 1780 at the outposts, that no country on earth, at such a distance, could support the loss of men. Another reason that operated on my mind, added to the eagerness I observed in the generality of the people under my direction to have arms put into their hands on the incursions of the enemy, even while we had troops at Camden, preventing the negroes from being of any service to Government in planting and cultivating the land; what, with the proofs they have given, on various occasions, of spirit and enterprise, left me no room to doubt that they might be employed to the utmost advantage. While there was a ray of hope left for believing that Lord Cornwallis had made his escape with a small part of his army, I was easy and happy, convinced that he would not have hesitated a moment in giving freedom to men of all complexions that would faithfully serve the King, and assist in crushing a most infernal rebellion. And I cannot help thinking, my Lord, that there is something peculiarly fortunate in your Lordship's arrival here at this very critical moment; for next to Lord Cornwallis, who has the advantage of military rank in the empire, there is none so able to form and execute so great a design, nor in whom the King's friends have equal confidence as in your Lordship. Unless some vigorous step is taken, I humbly think it is more than probable that the nation at large will insist on this American War being relinquished. What can Administration say, what can they promise themselves or the nation, by a prosecution of the war in such hands? Nothing but ultimate ruin.

“If, my Lord, this scheme is adopted, arranged, and ready for being put in execution, the moment the troops penetrate into the country after the arrival of the promised re-enforcements, America is to be

Proposal
to Lord
Dunmore.

conquered with its own force (I mean the Provincial troops and the black troops to be raised), and the British and Hessian army could be spared to attack the French where they are most vulnerable. The nation would, by that means, be relieved from an amazing burthen,—that of supporting the army at New York,—what has been a sink of treasure, and a bed of voluptuousness and dissipation. I say, my Lord, if the British and Hessian troops were ordered to leave the country, only sending force sufficient to garrison Rhode Island, that your Lordship and my friend Gov. Martin, with the Provincial troops, the King's friends, and the new levies, would soon possess the three Southern provinces, in spite of all the force the rebels could assemble. 'Tis notorious that more than two-thirds of North Carolina have expressed an eager desire for the re-establishment of British government. They have given striking proofs of zeal, spirit, and enterprise; and under the direction of those they love, and who would reward their merit, rebellion would soon cease to exist on the south side of James River. Pardon me, my Lord, for this tedious digression. Such a variety of new matter crowds upon me, that I could not help giving my thoughts a place.

"It may, and I dare say will, be said by Opposition, 'What! arm the slaves? We shudder at the very idea, so repugnant to humanity, so barbarous and shocking to human nature,' &c. One very simple answer is, in my mind, to be given: Whether is it better to make this vast continent become an acquisition of power, strength, and consequence to Great Britain again, or tamely give it up to France, who will reap the fruits of American Independence, to the utter ruin of Britain? It may be said, 'How can you do such an injury to your friends?' In the first place, our friends in this province are not numerous whose property consists in slaves. The friends of Britain in the Southern provinces, in general, are the merchants; and they have little property in slaves. And, in the second place, I deny that we injure our friends by giving freedom to those slaves that are proper for soldiers. 'Tis only changing one master for another; and let it be clearly understood that they are to serve the King for ever, and that those slaves who are not taken for his Majesty's service are to remain on the plantation, and perform, as usual, the labor of the field; and, so far from ruining the property, I do aver, and experience will, I doubt not, justify the assertion, that, by embodying the most hardy, intrepid, and determined blacks, they would not only keep the rest in good order, but, by being disciplined and under command, be prevented from rais-

ing cabals, tumults, and even rebellion, what I think might be expected soon after a peace ; but so far from making even our lukewarm friends and secret foes greater enemies by this measure, I will, by taking their slaves, engage to make them better friends. This, my Lord, may appear enigmatical ; but your Lordship's experience of mankind in general, and of the people in this country in particular, will do justice to my opinion, that if the nation had, instead of lavishing her treasure, and opening a very wide door for her servants to heap up wealth at her expense, and feeding and supporting, by her gold that circulates in the country, that very rebellion she wished to crush ; I say, my Lord, that [had] she, instead of paying money for all necessaries purchased for the use of the army, granted receipts, bearing interest so long as the holders remained loyal, and a promise to pay the principal at the expiration of the rebellion,—our affairs would have been in a very different situation to-day.

Proposal
to Lord
Dunmore.

“I have, my Lord, done myself the honor to enclose a sketch of a plan for embodying ten thousand men ; and I would beg leave to suggest to your Lordship the propriety of laying your plan before Col. Moncrief, and offering him a brigade, with your Lordship's interest to secure him the rank of brigadier-general. I can assure you of a certainty, that it will be by much the best channel in which it can be placed ; and I would humbly recommend to your Lordship to make it known only to Moncrief, who, with yourself, is fully equal to set it on its legs. I am afraid, my Lord, that I have wearied your patience. My motives I beg you may believe to be most pure ; and I have the honor to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

“J. CRUDEN.”

“CHARLES TOWN, 5th January, 1782.

“In the Province of South Carolina, ten thousand Black Troops may be raised, inured to fatigue and to the climate, without impoverishing the plantations so much that they might not be able to produce crops equal to the maintenance and support, not only of the women and children that are left on the estates, but also sufficient to feed, clothe, and pay the Black Troops.

Sketch of
a plan for
arming the
Negroes.

“When these men are raised, there can be no doubt, that, with the force here, they will be able to drive the enemy from the Province, and open a large door for our friends from North Carolina to join us, till such time as it may be policy, and we may have a sufficient command of the sea, to enter Virginia.

Sketch of
a plan for
arming the
Negroes.

"When the country is again in our possession, with proper and effectual support, I will engage to maintain and clothe those Black Troops from the estates of the enemy; and I will also engage to pay the interest of the receipts granted to our friends, at the rate of eight per cent. And, to convince the world that we never adopt any measure at the expense of individuals, let three or more gentlemen of the country — men of honor and probity — be appointed to value the negroes that belong to our friends, and at the rate they would have sold for in 1773, and Government to be accountable for the amount at the expiration of the war, paying interest at the customary rate, so long as the parties concerned maintained their allegiance.

"That, for all negroes, the property of the enemy, the adjutant-general to grant receipts to the commissioner of sequestered estates, and returns made to him when they are killed, or lost to the service, that others may be furnished to supply their place.

"It is impossible to conceive or think what the effects of such a measure would be. Striking at the root of all property, and making the wealth and riches of the enemy the means of bringing them to obedience, must bring the most violent to their senses. Such a wonderful change may it work, that I would not be surprised, that those now most violent against us would be foremost in an application for peace on our own terms.

"Property, all the world over, is dear to mankind; and in this country they are as much wedded to it as in any other; and, in the Southern Provinces, men are great in proportion to the number of their slaves.

"I should think that one major-general, two brigadier-generals, six lieutenant-colonels commandant, twelve majors and twelve adjutants, ninety-six captains, one hundred and ninety-two lieutenants, with quartermasters, &c., &c., &c., would be equal to discipline and command ten thousand men.

"J. CRUDEN."

EARL OF DUNMORE TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

"CHARLES TOWN, Feb. 2, 1782.

Lord Dun-
more to Sir
Henry
Clinton.

"SIR, — I was in hopes of having the pleasure of delivering the enclosed letters in person, but the fleet in which I came out not proceeding to New York, being advised, and thinking it unsafe to hazard a further voyage to the northward, at this season of the year, with so large a fleet.

"I should have sent you these letters by the 'Rotterdam,' had I known she meant to go to New York, as I do not know but they may be of importance. By one of them, your Excellency will see that his Majesty wished I would return to this country; we then thinking that we should have found our affairs in Virginia in a very different state from what they really are; and for which, in my humble opinion, there is now no remedy left, without adopting the following plan, or something similar to it, which I humbly submit to your serious consideration.

Lord Dunmore to Sir Henry Clinton.

"I arrived here the 21st of December; and, having no employment, I made it my business to converse with every one that I thought capable of giving me any good information of the real situation of this country: and every one that I have conversed with think, and, I must own, my own sentiments perfectly coincide with theirs, that the most efficacious, expeditious, cheapest, and certain means of reducing this country to a proper sense of their duty is in employing the blacks, who are, in my opinion, not only better fitted for service in this warm climate than white men, but they are also better guides, may be got on much easier terms, and are perfectly attached to our sovereign. And, by employing them, you cannot devise a means more effectual to distress your foes, not only by depriving them of their property, but by depriving them of their labor. You in reality deprive them of their existence; for, without their labor, they cannot subsist: and, from my own knowledge of them, I am sure they are as soon disciplined as any set of raw men that I know of.

"From my perfect belief of the above facts, I do most earnestly wish your Excellency would adopt the measure on some such footing as is here enclosed; and, as the strongest proof of my good opinion of the measure, I am most willing, provided you approve, and have no other person you may think better qualified to put it in execution, to hazard my reputation and person in the execution of it.

"What I would further propose is, that the officers of the Provincials, who are swarming in the streets here, perfectly idle, should be employed to command these men, with the rank they now have.

"I would also propose, at first, to raise only ten thousand Blacks, to give them white officers and non-commissioned officers, but to fill up the vacancies of the non-commissioned officers now and then with black people, as their services should entitle them to it.

"In order to induce the negroes to enlist, I would propose to give each black man one guinea and a crown, with a promise of freedom to all that should serve during the continuance of the war; and, that they

Lord Dun-
more to Sir
Henry
Clinton.

may be fully satisfied that this promise will be held inviolate, it must be given by the officer appointed to command them, he being empowered so to do, in the most ample manner, by your Excellency. As there will no doubt be a great many men come in that will be unfit for military service, I would propose employing them, with the women and children, under proper managers, to cultivate any lands in our possession; and I doubt not, with proper management, to raise sufficient food for the maintenance of the black troops at least, and perhaps enough to dispose of that would both pay and clothe the whole. But should this plan fail, contrary to my most sanguine wish and real opinion, the expense will be so trifling in trying the experiment, that it can never be thought an object of the smallest consideration.

"In order to obviate the only objection that I see to this plan (namely, that of employing slaves, the property of a few friends that are with us here), I would propose that they should be valued by three gentlemen of known skill and probity, and that a receipt should be given them for the value of such slaves; paying them six per cent. interest upon it till the expiration of the war, or so long as the holders' allegiance lasted: and, if that continues to the expiration of the war, pay them the principal. And, indeed, I would propose that no money should in future be given for any thing taken from the inhabitants for the use of the troops, but receipts granted on the same terms.

"Should this plan in general meet with your Excellency's approbation, there are many more ideas relative to it that I will take another opportunity of communicating to you.

"I have wrote fully to Lord George Germain on this subject, and have sent him a copy of this letter; but I hope, before we can hear from home, you will have had the credit of adopting the plan."

(*Extract.*)

EARL OF DUNMORE TO SECRETARY LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

"CHARLES TOWN, S. C., Feb. 5, 1782.

Lord Dun-
more to
Lord
George
Germain.

. . . . "Enclosed I send your Lordship a copy of a letter I have wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, for employing Negroes in this country."

(*Extract.*)

EARL OF DUNMORE TO SECRETARY LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

"CHARLES TOWN, S. C., March 30, 1782.

"Since writing to your Lordship of the 5th of February, there has been a motion made in the Rebel Assembly of this Province for raising

a brigade of negroes, which was only negatived by a very few voices, and it's supposed will be re-assumed and carried on a future day; and we, by neglecting to make a proper use of those people, who are much attached to us, shall have them, in a short time, employed against us. They are now carrying them up the country as fast as they can find them.

"As soon as this is closed, I shall set off for New York in the 'Carysfort.'"

One of the ablest, most experienced, and most successful of the American generals, second only, in the estimation of many, to the Commander-in-chief,—General Nathaniel Greene, —in a letter to Washington, dated on the 24th of January, 1782, says:—

General
Greene.

"I have recommended to this State to raise some black regiments. To fill up the regiments with whites is impracticable, and to get reinforcements from the northwards precarious, and at least difficult, from the prejudices respecting the climate. Some are for it; but the far greater part of the people are opposed to it."—*Sparks's Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 467.

The letter of General Greene to Governor Rutledge, of South Carolina, is printed below. The opinion of such an officer, formed after the experiment of employing Negro soldiers at the North had been fully tried, and after a residence in the Southern States had enabled him to consider the subject with the advantage of an "acquaintance with the habits, character, and feelings of that class of people," is of the highest importance.

"The natural strength of the country, in point of numbers, appears to me to consist much more in the blacks than in the whites. Could they be incorporated, and employed for its defence, it would afford you double security. That they would make good soldiers, I have not the least doubt; and I am persuaded the State has it not in its power to give sufficient re-enforcements, without incorporating them, either to secure the country, if the enemy mean to act vigorously upon an offensive plan, or furnish a force sufficient to dispossess them of Charleston, should it be defensive.

General
Greene.

"The number of whites in this State is too small, and the state of your finances too low, to attempt to raise a force in any other way. Should the measure be adopted, it may prove a good means of preventing the enemy from further attempts upon this country, when they find they have not only the whites, but the blacks also, to contend with. And I believe it is generally agreed, that, if the natural strength of this country could have been employed in its defence, the enemy would have found it little less than impracticable to have got footing here, much more to have overrun the country, by which the inhabitants have suffered infinitely greater loss than would have been sufficient to have given you perfect security; and, I am persuaded, the incorporation of a part of the negroes would rather tend to secure the fidelity of others, than excite discontent, mutiny, and desertion among them. The force I would ask for this purpose, in addition to what we have, and what may probably join us from the Northward or from the militia of this State, would be four regiments, — two upon the Continental, and two upon the State, establishment; a corps of pioneers and a corps of artificers, each to consist of about eighty men. The two last may be either on a temporary or permanent establishment, as may be most agreeable to the State. The others should have their freedom, and be clothed and treated, in all respects, as other soldiers; without which they will be unfit for the duties expected from them." — *Johnson's Life of Greene*, vol. ii. p. 274.

The author of "Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of General Greene," himself a Southerner and a resident of Charleston, thus comments on the proposal to employ the negroes as soldiers:—

Judge
Johnson
on negro
soldiers.

"Those who can enter into the feelings and opinions of the citizens of those States which tolerate slavery will be not a little startled at the proposition submitted to the Governor and Council in this letter. A strong, deep-seated feeling, nurtured from earliest infancy, decides, with instinctive promptness, against a measure of so threatening an aspect, and so offensive to that republican pride, which disdains to commit the defence of the country to servile hands, or share with a color to which the idea of inferiority is inseparably connected the profession of arms, and that approximation of condition which must exist between the regular soldier and the militia-man.

"But the Governor and Council viewed the subject under the influ-

ence of less feeling. It seems the proposition had formerly been under consideration in the State Legislature; and, as the meeting of that board was now at hand, it was resolved to submit it to their decision.

Judge
Johnson
on negro
soldiers.

"There is a sovereign, who, at this time, draws his soldiery from the same class of people; and finds a facility in forming and disciplining an army, which no other power enjoys. Nor does his immense military force, formed from that class of his subjects, excite the least apprehensions; for the soldier's will is subdued to that of his officer, and his improved condition takes away the habit of identifying himself with the class from which he has been separated. Military men know what mere machines men become under discipline, and believe that any men, who may be made obedient, may be made soldiers; and that increasing their numbers increases the means of their own subjection and government.

"It is now probable that the idea of forming a military force by a draught from the slaves had been suggested to Gen. Greene by a recent acquaintance with the habits, character, and feelings of that class of people. It could not escape his eye, that there was no sense of hostility existing between the master and slave, but rather something of the clannish, or patriarchal, feelings known to exist between the inhabitants of a village and their chief. He had remarked the joy expressed by the slaves on their deliverance from the tyranny of the enemy, and the return of a protector in the person of their master; and it was obvious, that if the State could give a slave for the services of a man as a soldier for ten months, as had been the case in raising some of its troops, it would be great gain to convert the same slave into a soldier for the war, to be paid only by his freedom, after having served with fidelity. But the Legislature, when it met, thought the experiment a dangerous one; and the project was relinquished. They adopted, however, the alternative of raising soldiers on the black population by giving a slave for a soldier. Parties were sent to collect slaves from the plantations of the loyalists, and rendezvous established in vain in various places in the interior country." — *Johnson's Life of Greene*, vol. ii. pp. 274, 275.

Propositions for peace were introduced in the British Parliament, and preliminary steps were taken towards the cessation of hostilities, before the letters from Lord Dunmore reached the Secretary, Lord George Germain. But these letters, and those written by Colonel Laurens and General

Greene in the last months of the Revolutionary War, are of historical importance. They contain the mature opinions and the deliberate decision of the highest British and American military authorities, in unequivocal support of the policy of arming the negro slaves, and employing them as soldiers.

The following letter, addressed to Brigadier-General Rufus Putnam, and afterwards printed, from his papers, at Marietta, Ohio, shows the tender care which the Commander-in-chief had for the rights of the negro soldiers in the army : —

“HEAD QUARTERS, Feb. 2, 1783.

Washington's regard
for the
rights of
negro
soldiers.

“SIR, — Mr. Hobby having claimed as his property a negro man now serving in the Massachusetts Regiment, you will please to order a court of inquiry, consisting of five as respectable officers as can be found in your brigade, to examine the validity of the claim, the manner in which the person in question came into service, and the propriety of his being discharged or retained in service. Having inquired into the matter, with all the attending circumstances, they will report to you their opinion thereon; which you will report to me as soon as conveniently may be.

“I am, Sir, with great respect,

“Your most obedient servant,

“G. WASHINGTON.

“P.S. — All concerned should be notified to attend.

“Brig.-Gen. PUTNAM.”

Luther Martin, it will be remembered, in his address to the Legislature of Maryland on the Federal Constitution, deplored the growing laxity of public sentiment on the subject of slavery. “When our liberties were at stake,” he said, “we warmly felt for the common rights of men. The danger being thought to be past which threatened ourselves, we are daily growing more insensible to those rights.” A sad illustration of the truth of this declaration was found in the conduct of some of the slaveholders, who, having sent their negroes to the army with the promise of personal liberty, at the close of the war attempted to re-enslave them.

To the honor of Virginia, — who could then claim Wash-

ington and Jefferson and Madison among her living patriots, — this wrong to the negro soldiers was not overlooked, nor permitted to continue. The General Assembly of that State, in 1783, enacted the following law: —

“An Act directing the Emancipation of certain Slaves who have served as Soldiers in this State, and for the Emancipation of the Slave Aberdeen.

“I. Whereas it hath been represented to the present General Assembly, that, during the course of the war, many persons in this State had caused their slaves to enlist in certain regiments or corps raised within the same, having tendered such slaves to the officers appointed to recruit forces within the State, as substitutes for free persons whose lot or duty it was to serve in such regiments or corps, at the same time representing to such recruiting officers that the slaves, so enlisted by their direction and concurrence, were freemen; and it appearing further to this Assembly, that on the expiration of the term of enlistment of such slaves, that the former owners have attempted again to force them to return to a state of servitude, contrary to the principles of justice, and to their own solemn promise;

“II. And whereas it appears just and reasonable, that all persons enlisted as aforesaid, who have faithfully served agreeable to the terms of their enlistment, and have thereby of course contributed towards the establishment of American liberty and independence, should enjoy the blessings of freedom as a reward for their toils and labors;

“Be it therefore enacted, That each and every slave who, by the appointment and direction of his owner, hath enlisted in any regiment or corps raised within this State, either on Continental or State establishment, and hath been received as a substitute for any free person whose duty or lot it was to serve in such regiment or corps, and hath served faithfully during the term of such enlistment, or hath been discharged from such service by some officer duly authorized to grant such discharge, shall, from and after the passing of this act, be fully and completely emancipated, and shall be held and deemed free, in as full and ample a manner as if each and every of them were specially named in this act; and the Attorney-general for the Commonwealth is hereby required to commence an action, *in formā pauperis*, in behalf of any of the persons above described who shall, after the passing of this act, be detained in servitude by any person whatsoever; and if, upon such prosecution, it shall appear that the pauper is entitled to his

Negro
soldiers
emanci-
pated.

Negro
soldiers
emanci-
pated.

freedom in consequence of this act, a jury shall be empanelled to assess the damages for his detention.

"III. And whereas it has been represented to this General Assembly, that Aberdeen, a negro man slave, hath labored a number of years in the public service at the lead mines, and for his meritorious services is entitled to freedom; *Be it therefore enacted*, That the said slave Aberdeen shall be, and he is hereby, emancipated and declared free in as full and ample a manner as if he had been born free." — *Hening's Statutes at Large of Virginia*, vol. xi. pp. 308, 309.

Three years after the close of the war, in October, 1786, the following special act was passed, by the General Assembly of Virginia, for the liberation of a faithful slave who had rendered valuable service to General Lafayette:—

"An Act to emancipate JAMES, a Negro Slave, the property of William Armistead, Gentleman.

A slave's
services to
Lafayette
acknowl-
edged by
Virginia.

"I. Whereas it is represented that James, a negro slave, the property of William Armistead, gentleman, of the county of New Kent, did, with the permission of his master, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, enter into the service of the Marquis la Fayette, and at the peril of his life found means to frequent the British camp, and thereby faithfully executed important commissions entrusted to him by the Marquis; and the said James hath made application to this Assembly to set him free, and to make his said master adequate compensation for his value, which it is judged reasonable and right to do;

"II. *Be it therefore enacted*, That the said James shall, from and after the passing of this act, enjoy as full freedom as if he had been born free; any law to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

"III. *And be it further enacted*, That the Executive shall, as soon as may be, appoint a proper person, and the said William Armistead another, who shall ascertain and fix the value of the said James, and to certify such valuation to the Auditor of Accounts, who shall issue his warrant to the Treasurer for the same, to be paid out of the general fund." — *Hening's Statutes at Large of Virginia*, vol. xii. pp. 380, 381.

With two or three later authoritative testimonies, showing that it was a general practice among the Founders of the

Republic to employ negroes, both slaves and freemen, as soldiers regularly enrolled in the army, I bring to a close this paper, which has already much exceeded the limits of my original plan.

The Hon. William Eustis, who served throughout the war of the Revolution as a surgeon, and was afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, in a speech in the United-States House of Representatives, December 12, 1820, said:—

“At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, there were found, ^{William Eustis.} in the Middle and Northern States, many blacks, and other people of color, capable of bearing arms; a part of them free, the greater part slaves. The freemen entered our ranks with the whites. The time of those who were slaves was purchased by the States; and they were induced to enter the service in consequence of a law, by which, on condition of their serving in the ranks during the war, they were made freemen. In Rhode Island, where their numbers were more considerable, they were formed, under the same considerations, into a regiment commanded by white officers; and it is required, in justice to them, to add, that they discharged their duty with zeal and fidelity. The gallant defence of Red Bank, in which this black regiment bore a part, is among the proofs of their valor.

“Among the traits which distinguished this regiment was their devotion to their officers: when their brave Col. Greene was afterwards cut down and mortally wounded, the sabres of the enemy reached his body only through the limbs of his faithful guard of blacks, who hovered over him and protected him, every one of whom was killed, and whom he was not ashamed to call his children. The services of this description of men in the navy are also well known. I should not have mentioned either, but for the information of the gentleman from Delaware, whom I understood to say that he did not know that they had served in any considerable numbers.

“The war over, and peace restored, these men returned to their respective States; and who could have said to them, on their return to civil life, after having shed their blood in common with the whites in the defence of the liberties of the country, ‘You are not to participate in the rights secured by the struggle, or in the liberty for which you have been fighting’? Certainly no white man in Massachusetts.”—*Annals of Congress. Sixteenth Congress, Second Session*, p. 636.

The Hon. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, in a previous part of the same debate, said:—

Charles
Pinckney.

. . . "It is a most remarkable fact, that notwithstanding, in the course of the Revolution, the Southern States were continually overrun by the British, and that every negro in them had an opportunity of leaving their owners, few did; proving thereby not only a most remarkable attachment to their owners, but the mildness of the treatment, from whence their affection sprang. They then were, as they still are, as valuable a part of our population to the Union as any other equal number of inhabitants. They were in numerous instances the pioneers, and, in all, the laborers, of your armies. To their hands were owing the erection of the greatest part of the fortifications raised for the protection of our country; some of which, particularly Fort Moultrie, gave, at that early period of the inexperience and untried valor of our citizens, immortality to American arms: and, in the Northern States, numerous bodies of them were enrolled into and fought, by the sides of the whites, the battles of the Revolution."—*Annals of Congress. Sixteenth Congress, First Session, p. 1312.*

That large numbers of negroes were enrolled in the army, and served faithfully as soldiers during the whole period of the War of the Revolution, may be regarded as a well-established historical fact. And it should be borne in mind, that the enlistment was not confined, by any means, to those who had before enjoyed the privileges of free citizens. Very many slaves were offered to, and received by, the army, on the condition that they were to be emancipated, either at the time of enlisting, or when they had served out the term of their enlistment. The inconsistency of keeping in slavery any person who had taken up arms for the defence of our national liberty, had led to the passing of an order, forbidding "slaves," as such, to be received as soldiers.

The documents which I have cited will give a general idea of the opinions and the practice of the leading patriots in the civil and military service of the country, at the time of the Revolution, on the employment of negroes as soldiers. Much more documentary evidence, of a similar character, might be

adduced from the mass of materials which I have gathered in pursuing this inquiry ; but I have, I trust, selected enough to fairly illustrate the subject. If what I have done, or what I have left undone, shall stimulate others to a more thorough investigation, my labor will not have been lost.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

NEGROES IN THE NAVY.

THE suggestion made by Mr. Everett at the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society when this paper was read, in regard to the history of the employment of negroes in our navy, is worthy of a more careful consideration than the limits of this paper would allow. But I am happy to be able to present the testimony, on this subject, of one of our Honorary Members, Usher Parsons, M.D., whose character and experience give authority to his statements. Negroes in
the Navy.

“ PROVIDENCE, October 18, 1862.

“ MY DEAR SIR, — In reply to your inquiries about the employing of blacks in our navy in the war of 1812, and particularly in the battle of Lake Erie, I refer you to documents in Mackenzie's ‘ Life of Commodore Perry,’ vol. i. pp. 166 and 187.

“ In 1814, our fleet sailed to the Upper Lakes to co-operate with Colonel Croghan at Mackinac. About one in ten or twelve of the crews were blacks.

“ In 1816, I was surgeon of the ‘ Java,’ under Commodore Perry. The white and colored seamen messed together. About one in six or eight were colored.

“ In 1819, I was surgeon of the ‘ Guerrière,’ under Commodore Macdonough ; and the proportion of blacks was about the same in her

Negroes in
the Navy.

crew. There seemed to be an entire absence of prejudice against the blacks as messmates among the crew. What I have said applies to the crews of the other ships that sailed in squadrons.

"Yours very respectfully,

"USHER PARSONS.

"GEORGE LIVERMORE, Esq."

The documents referred to by Dr. Parsons are two letters, — the first written to Commodore Chauncey, in the summer of 1813, by Captain (afterwards Commodore) Perry, expressing dissatisfaction with the appearance of the men who had been sent to him for his squadron on Lake Erie before his famous battle.

"SIR, — I have this moment received, by express, the enclosed letter from General Harrison. If I had officers and men, — and I have no doubt you will send them, — I could fight the enemy, and proceed up the lake; but, having no one to command the 'Niagara,' and only one commissioned lieutenant and two acting lieutenants, whatever my wishes may be, going out is out of the question. The men that came by Mr. Champlin are a motley set, — blacks, soldiers, and boys. I cannot think you saw them after they were selected. I am, however, pleased to see any thing in the shape of a man." — *Mackenzie's Life of Perry*, vol. i. pp. 165, 166.

This letter called forth from Commodore Chauncey the following sharp reply: —

"SIR, — I have been duly honored with your letters of the twenty-third and twenty-sixth ultimo, and notice your anxiety for men and officers. I am equally anxious to furnish you; and no time shall be lost in sending officers and men to you as soon as the public service will allow me to send them from this lake. I regret that you are not pleased with the men sent you by Messrs. Champlin and Forrest; for, to my knowledge, a part of them are not surpassed by any seamen we have in the fleet: and I have yet to learn that the color of the skin, or the cut and trimmings of the coat, can affect a man's qualifications or usefulness. I have nearly fifty blacks on board of this ship, and many of them are among my best men; and those people you call soldiers have been to sea from two to seventeen years; and I presume that you will find them as good and useful as any men on board of

your vessel; at least, if I can judge by comparison; for those which we have on board of this ship are attentive and obedient, and, as far as I can judge, many of them excellent seamen: at any rate, the men sent to Lake Erie have been selected with a view of sending a fair proportion of petty officers and seamen; and I presume, upon examination, it will be found that they are equal to those upon this lake."—*Mackenzie's Life of Perry*, vol. i. pp. 186, 187.

Negroes in
the Navy.

Perry found the negroes to be indeed all that Commodore Chauncey had represented them; and he did not hesitate afterwards to speak favorably of their services:—

"Perry speaks highly of the bravery and good conduct of the negroes, who formed a considerable part of his crew. They seemed to be absolutely insensible to danger. When Captain Barclay came on board the 'Niagara,' and beheld the sickly and party-colored beings around him, an expression of chagrin escaped him at having been conquered by such men. The fresh-water service had very much impaired the health of the sailors, and crowded the sick list with patients."—*Analectic Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 255.

To the same effect is the testimony of the following

"*Extract of a Letter from Nathaniel Shaler, Commander of the private-armed Schooner Gov. Tompkins, to his Agent in New York, dated —*

"AT SEA, Jan. 1, 1813.

"Before I could get our light sails in, and almost before I could turn round, I was under the guns, not of a transport, but of a large frigate! and not more than a quarter of a mile from her. . . . Her first broadside killed two men, and wounded six others. . . . My officers conducted themselves in a way that would have done honor to a more permanent service. . . . The name of one of my poor fellows who was killed ought to be registered in the book of fame, and remembered with reverence as long as bravery is considered a virtue. He was a black man, by the name of John Johnson. A twenty-four-pound shot struck him in the hip, and took away all the lower part of his body. In this state, the poor brave fellow lay on the deck, and several times exclaimed to his shipmates, 'Fire away, my boy: no haul a color down.' The other was also a black man, by the name of John Davis, and was struck in much the same way. He fell

near me, and several times requested to be thrown overboard, saying he was only in the way of others.

"When America has such tars, she has little to fear from the tyrants of the ocean." — *Niles's Weekly Register*, Saturday, Feb. 26, 1814.

(B.)

Flag of a
negro
company.

At the August meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, an interesting memorial of the last century was displayed. It was a silk flag, bearing the device of a Pine-tree and a Buck, with the initials "J. H." and "G. W." over a scroll, on which appear the words, "The Bucks of America." This relic had been carefully preserved as the flag presented by Governor Hancock to a company of colored soldiers bearing that name. It now belongs to Mr. William C. Nell, of Boston. Mr. Nell is the author of a volume entitled "The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, with Sketches of several Distinguished Colored Persons;" a book that contains a great number of interesting anecdotes on the subject. It was published in 1855, and is now out of print; but a new edition, considerably enlarged, is, I am happy to hear, soon to be issued.

(C.)

NEGRO REGIMENTS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Negro regi-
ments in
the State of
New York.

That the services of negroes, as soldiers, were solicited and welcomed by the civil and military authorities in various parts of the United States, during the war of 1812 with Great Britain, is too well known to need any illustration. It may not, however, be out of place here to reprint an act of the Legislature of the State of New York.

*"An Act to authorize the raising of Two Regiments of Men of Color ;
passed Oct. 24, 1814.*

"SECT. 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of New York, ^{Negro regi-} represented in Senate and Assembly, That the Governor of the State ^{ments in} be, and he is hereby, authorized to raise, by voluntary enlistment, two ^{the State of} regiments of free men of color, for the defence of the State for three ^{New York.} years, unless sooner discharged.

"SECT. 2. And be it further enacted, That each of the said regiments shall consist of one thousand and eighty able-bodied men ; and the said regiments shall be formed into a brigade, or be organized in such manner, and shall be employed in such service, as the Governor of the State of New York shall deem best adapted to defend the said State.

"SECT. 3. And be it further enacted, That all the commissioned officers of the said regiments and brigade shall be white men ; and the Governor of the State of New York shall be, and he is hereby, authorized to commission, by brevet, all the officers of the said regiments and brigade, who shall hold their respective commissions until the council of appointment shall have appointed the officers of the said regiments and brigade, in pursuance of the Constitution and laws of the said State.

"SECT. 4. And be it further enacted, That the commissioned officers of the said regiments and brigade shall receive the same pay, rations, forage, and allowances, as officers of the same grade in the army of the United States ; and the non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates of the said regiments shall receive the same pay, rations, clothing, and allowances, as the non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates of the army of the United States ; and the sum of twenty-five dollars shall be paid to each of the said non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates, at the time of enlistment, in lieu of all other bounty.

"SECT. 5. And be it further enacted, That the troops to be raised as aforesaid may be transferred into the service of the United States, if the Government of the United States shall agree to pay and subsist them, and to refund to this State the moneys expended by this State in clothing and arming them ; and, until such transfer shall be made, may be ordered into the service of the United States in lieu of an equal number of militia, whenever the militia of the State of New York shall be ordered into the service of the United States.

"SECT. 6. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for any

Negro reg- able-bodied slave, with the written assent of his master or mistress, to
 iments in enlist into the said corps; and the master or mistress of such slave
 the State of New York. shall be entitled to the pay and bounty allowed him for his service:
 and, further, that the said slave, at the time of receiving his discharge,
 shall be deemed and adjudged to have been legally manumitted from
 that time, and his said master or mistress shall not thenceforward be
 liable for his maintenance.

"SECT. 7. And be it further enacted, That every such enrolled person, who shall have become free by manumission or otherwise, if he shall thereafter become indigent, shall be deemed to be settled in the town in which the person who manumitted him was settled at the time of such manumission, or in such other town where he shall have gained a settlement subsequent to his discharge from the said service; and the former owner or owners of such manumitted person, and his legal representatives, shall be exonerated from his maintenance, any law to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

"SECT. 8. And be it further enacted, That, when the troops to be raised as aforesaid shall be in the service of the United States, they shall be subject to the rules and articles which have been or may be hereafter established by the By-laws of the United States for the government of the army of the United States; that, when the said troops shall be in the service of the State of New York, they shall be subject to the same rules and regulations: And the Governor of the said State shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to exercise all the power and authority which, by the said rules and articles, are required to be exercised by the President of the United States." — *Laws of the State of New York, passed at the Thirty-eighth Session of the Legislature*, chap. xviii.

(D.)

GENERAL JACKSON'S PROCLAMATION TO THE NEGROES.

HEADQUARTERS, SEVENTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
 MOBILE, September 21, 1814.

To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana.

Negro sol-
 diers under
 General
 Jackson.

Through a mistaken policy, you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights in which our country is engaged. This no longer shall exist.

As sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government. As fathers, husbands, and brothers, you are summoned to rally around the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence.

Negro soldiers under General Jackson.

Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in her cause without amply remunerating you for the services rendered. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations. Your love of honor would cause you to despise the man who should attempt to deceive you. In the sincerity of a soldier and the language of truth I address you.

To every noble-hearted, generous freeman of color volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain, and no longer, there will be paid the same bounty, in money and lands, now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz. one hundred and twenty-four dollars in money, and one hundred and sixty acres of land. The non-commissioned officers and privates will also be entitled to the same monthly pay, and daily rations, and clothes, furnished to any American soldier.

On enrolling yourselves in companies, the Major-General Commanding will select officers for your government from your white fellow-citizens. Your non-commissioned officers will be appointed from among yourselves.

Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons or unjust sarcasm. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause and gratitude of your countrymen.

To assure you of the sincerity of my intentions, and my anxiety to engage your invaluable services to our country, I have communicated my wishes to the Governor of Louisiana, who is fully informed as to the manner of enrolment, and will give you every necessary information on the subject of this address.

ANDREW JACKSON, *Major-General Commanding.*
(Niles's Register, vol. vii. p. 205.)

Three months after his proclamation was issued, on Sunday, the 18th of December, 1814, General Jackson reviewed

Negro soldiers under General Jackson.

the troops, white and colored, in New Orleans. "At the close of the review, Edward Livingston [one of his aids] advanced from the group that surrounded the General, and read in fine, sonorous tones, and with an energy and emphasis worthy of the impassioned words he spoke, that famous address to the troops which contributed so powerfully to enhance their enthusiasm, and of which the survivors to this hour have the most vivid recollection. This address, like that previously quoted, was Jackson's spirit in Livingston's language."—*Parton's Life of Jackson*, vol. ii. pp. 63, 64.

The following is a portion of the address:—

"TO THE EMBODIED MILITIA.—*Fellow Citizens and Soldiers*: The General commanding in chief would not do justice to the noble ardor that has animated you in the hour of danger, he would not do justice to his own feeling, if he suffered the example you have shown to pass without public notice. . . .

"Fellow-citizens, of every description, remember for what and against whom you contend. For all that can render life desirable—for a country blessed with every gift of nature—for property, for life—for those dearer than either, your wives and children—and for liberty, without which, country, life, property, are no longer worth possessing; as even the embraces of wives and children become a reproach to the wretch who could deprive them by his cowardice of those invaluable blessings.

"TO THE MEN OF COLOR.—Soldiers! From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms,—I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you; for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to man. But you surpass my hopes. I have found in you, united to these qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds.

"Soldiers! The President of the United States shall be informed of your conduct on the present occasion; and the voice of the Repre-

sentatives of the American nation shall applaud your valor, as your General now praises your ardor. The enemy is near. His sails cover the lakes. But the brave are united; and, if he finds us contending among ourselves, it will be for the prize of valor, and fame its noblest reward." — *Niles's Register*, vol. vii. pp. 345, 346.

(E.)

The Hon. Charles B. Sedgwick, a member of Congress from the State of New York, read in the House of Representatives, during the last session, the following paper on the use of negro soldiers in other countries. It is understood to have been prepared by one of the librarians of the State Library at Albany.

Negro soldiers under monarchical governments.

NEGRO SOLDIERS UNDER MONARCHICAL GOVERNMENTS.

"The monarchical governments of Europe and America, those that tolerate slavery and those that do not, alike agree in employing negroes armed for the public defence. They find that the burdens of war, and the sacrifice of life it occasions, are too great to be borne by the white race alone. They call upon the colored races, therefore, to share in the burden, and to encounter, in common with the whites, the risks of loss of life.

"Thus we find, that in the Spanish colony of Cuba, with a population one-half slaves and one-sixth colored, a militia of free blacks and mulattoes was directed by Gen. Pezuela (Governor-General) to be organized in 1854 throughout the island; and it was put upon an equal footing, with regard to privilege, with the regular army. This measure was not rescinded by Governor-General Concha in 1855; but the black and mulatto troops have been made a permanent corps of the Spanish army. (Condensed in the very phrases of Thrasher's preface to his edition of Humboldt's 'Cuba.')

"In the Portuguese colonies on the coast of Africa, the regiments are chiefly composed of black men. At Prince's Island, the garrison consists of a company of regular artillery of eighty, and a regiment of black militia of ten hundred and fifty-eight, rank and file, of which the

Negro soldiers under monarchical governments.

colonel is a white man. At St. Thomas's, there are two regiments of black militia. In Loando, the Portuguese can, on an emergency of war with the natives, bring into the field twenty-five thousand partially civilized blacks, armed with muskets. Successful expeditions have actually been made with five thousand of them, accompanied with three or four hundred white soldiers. (From Valdez's *Six Years on the West Coast of Africa*. London: 1861. Two vols. 8vo.)

"In the Dutch colony of the Gold Coast of Africa, with a population of one hundred thousand, the garrison of the fortress consists of two hundred soldiers (whites, mulattoes, and blacks), under a Dutch colonel.

"In the capital of the French colony of Senegal, on the same coast, at St. Louis, the defence of the place is in the hands of eight hundred white and three hundred black soldiers. (The preceding facts are also from Valdez.)

"In the Danish island of St. Croix, in the West Indies, for more than twenty-five years past, there have been employed two corps of colored soldiers, in the presence of slaves. (From Tuckerman's *Santa Cruz*.)

"In Brazil, notwithstanding its three million slaves, its monarchical government employs all colors and races in the military service, either by enlistment or forcible seizure. The police of the city of Rio de Janeiro is a military organization, composed mostly of colored men, drilled and commanded by army officers. The navy is principally manned by civilized aborigines. (Hidder: Ewbank.)

"The course pursued by the British Government in Jamaica, Sierra Leone, and Hindostan, is so notorious, as simply to need to be mentioned.

"In Turkey, no distinction of color or race is made in the ranks of the regular army. Distinction is made, however, on the ground of difference of faith. The army is composed of Mahomedans. Christians and Jews are never recruited. The result is one which the government of Turkey to-day contemplates with alarm. For the last two hundred years, having been frequently engaged in war, her Mahomedan population has been greatly reduced thereby; while her Christian population, at one time greatly inferior in numbers, has now, by peace, so extraordinarily increased, as to bid fair soon to divide the empire. And she dare not now, in her strength, arm them as her soldiers as conscripts, notwithstanding her desire to do it."

SEPTEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting was held this day, Thursday, Sept. 11, at twelve o'clock, M.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York; the Chicago Historical Society; the Essex Institute; the Hollis Association of Mini-
sters; the Ulster Historical Society; E. B. Bigelow, Esq.; Mrs. Catharine H. Harris; Hamilton Hill, Secretary of Oberlin College; Rev. George Trask; and from Messrs. Robbins (C.), Webb, Willard, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President laid upon the table a copy of the "Greenfield Gazette and Courier," containing an account of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Bernardston, at which the Society was represented by Hon. George T. Davis.

The President presented a copy of the "Official Register of the Officers and Cadets of the United-States Military Academy at West Point," recently given to him by General Scott at West Point; on the title-page of which the following sentence is written: "At the instance of the President, I have the honor to inscribe this Register to the Historical Society of Massachusetts. WINFIELD SCOTT."

The President said, —

That he had observed in a Boston newspaper, not long ago, an inquiry as to the authorship of an "Introductory Essay" to the edition of Wood's "New England's Prospect," published in Boston in the year 1764. This inquiry had been repeated in the "Historical Magazine" for the month of August. He was not sure that he could give the correct answer to the question; but he would at least offer a conjecture, and state the grounds on which it was based. He happened to have a copy of that edition in his library, which had belonged to his brother, the late Mr. James Bowdoin, and which contained many references and memoranda in his handwriting. At the close of the "Introductory Essay," Mr. Bowdoin had written in pencil, "This essay was written by James Otis;" and, at the beginning of the essay, he had written distinctly in ink, as if upon greater assurance, "By James Otis." Now, Mr. Bowdoin was long a member of this Society, and was a diligent historical and antiquarian student. He was in the way of making inquiries upon the subject, and would not have been satisfied to state such a fact without some authority. The essay was full of political allusions to the controversies between the American Colonies and the mother-country at the time it was published, in which Mr. Otis took a leading part. It abounded, too, in classical quotations, with which Otis was so familiar. There were some inaccuracies, and inelegances of style, not altogether worthy of Otis's pen; but he was known to have been sometimes careless in his compositions. There was a statement in it, also, which was not altogether consistent with what is known or inferred concerning Otis's career. The essay refers to the writer's having picked up a copy of Wood's "New England's Prospect" in a bookseller's shop in London. But there is something more than a doubt whether Otis himself ever went to London. Mr. Tudor, in his biography of Otis, gives no reason for thinking he ever went beyond the limits of his native land, except once to Halifax to argue a case. But as

the essay deals with exciting and delicate topics, and was printed anonymously, it may have been that the author designed to preserve his *incognito*, and to throw his readers off the scent in regard to the authorship, by introducing a circumstance which could not be applicable to himself. The essay would certainly have an additional interest, if it were known to have been written by this early and ardent patriot, and that he had felt obliged to adopt this mode of concealing his hand in it, in order to avoid the responsibility of so bold an impeachment of an arbitrary and oppressive government. At all events, Mr. Bowdoin's distinct statement, so many years ago, that it was written by James Otis, was worthy of attention, in default of other information on the subject.

The President also said, —

That he had found a possible solution of another question of authorship, which had frequently engaged the attention of himself and others. He had, some years ago, inserted a *query*, in the "Historical Magazine," as to the author of the English translation of the Marquis de Chastellux's "Travels in America." The question had never been answered. A few days since, he had happened to take up a copy of the first volume of the French edition of Chastellux; and, on one of the blank leaves at the beginning, he found the following memorandum: "V. Brissot, vol. ii. p. 241, concerning the translator. His name is Grieve. He lives at present at Morly, near Paris." The volume belonged to the library of Harvard College, and to the Ebeling Collection, presented by Mr. Thorndike; but the memorandum was in the handwriting of Ebeling himself. Who this Mr. Grieve was, he did not know; but he had certainly written some *grievous* things concerning the characters with which he dealt. The passage in Brissot to which the memorandum referred was as follows: —

"Ce traducteur est un jeune Anglois, qui a plus d'esprit que d'exactitude, plus de prétentions au sarcasme qu'à la vérité. Il étoit resté en Amérique pendant la guerre, y avait passé quatre années. Je n'ai pas pu bien découvrir quelle y avoit été sa mission. Il faut se défier excessivement de tout ce qu'il dit pour et contre. Je n'ai pas sa traduction sous les yeux ; j'aurais souvent eu occasion de la réfuter."

Mr. FOLSOM offered a suggestion as to the origin of the national motto, "E pluribus Unum ;" referring to the 103d line of the "Moretum," commonly included among Virgil's minor poems.

Mr. SPARKS stated, that, some time ago, the attention of the Society had been called to a letter from the owner of the "Dighton Rock," conveying that curious monument, by a warranty deed, to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. As the answer to that letter had never been referred to here, he would ask permission to read it to the meeting. It is published in the "National Intelligencer" of Oct. 26, 1861, together with a note from the donor of the Rock, Mr. Niels Arnzen.

FALL RIVER, Oct. 12, 1861.

To the Editors of the "National Intelligencer."

GENTLEMEN,—I received the enclosed account of a discovery of Runes in Orkney from Professor C. C. Rafn, of Copenhagen, with the request to send it to you for publication, if you think it of sufficient interest to do so.

I also enclose a translation of a letter from the King of Denmark, in answer to one presenting "Dighton Rock" to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. It was accompanied with a request that it should be recorded in our Book of Land Records, and published. The first I have done ; and, if you think its publication would interest the readers of the "National Intelligencer," please do so.

NIELS ARNZEN.

To Mr. NIELS ARNSEN, Fall River, Massachusetts.

In the annual meeting of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, held this day, at my Castle of Christiansborg, under my own presidency, the assembly was informed of your having, through donation and warranty deed, given, granted, and conveyed unto our Society the so-called "Writing" or "Dighton Rock," together with the parcel of land surrounding it, situated in the town of Berkley, in the county of Bristol, Mass.

It is a satisfaction to me by this to inform you, that the said donation—the value of which, in an antiquarian view, is recognized by myself, as also by the Society—has been accepted with acknowledgment.

The Society warmly acknowledged the motives stated in your said donation, of your granting to it "the lot or parcel of land" where the said monument is situated; and, in consequence hereof, the Board of Directory shall take the measures that may be found most conducive to its future safety and preservation.

A monument of this description only preserves its full value by remaining in the place it has kept from a remote antiquity; and hence the Society shall be glad to do all in its power to preserve it, supposing always that the inhabitants of the neighborhood, and every visitor of the locality,—now, through your donation, in the possession of the Society,—will do their best to further and promote our measures, particularly in directing the public attention to the value of the said monument, and to the importance of its future preservation.

FREDERICK R., *President.*

C. WEGENER, *Vice-President.*

C. C. RAFFN, *Secretary.*

Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries,
COPENHAGEN, May 27, 1861.

Mr. Sparks, having read the above letter, proceeded to say, that it might not be amiss for him to add a few words relating to the Society of Northern Antiquaries. It had been in existence about thirty-five years; and had done, in that period, a vast amount of antiquarian work. The King of Denmark, the President, took a

lively interest and active part in its proceedings, and had been himself the author of several communications.

It had published between eighty and ninety volumes, illustrated with maps and engravings; and was, in his opinion, the most active of all antiquarian societies, and entitled to the highest consideration. In concluding his remarks, he gave a cursory account of the early voyages of the Northmen to Iceland in the year 863; to Greenland, where they founded a colony, in 877; to Newfoundland and to Nova Scotia; and to Vineland, A.D. 1000; in which last-named place, undoubtedly in the neighborhood of what is now called the Vineyard Sound, they established a colony, which continued in existence about three years.

MR. DEANE laid before the meeting an early copy of the last will and testament of Edmand Reade, of Wickford, County Essex, Eng., found among the "Winthrop Papers," which had recently come into the possession of the President; and remarked on it as follows:—

This instrument settles some conjectural matters in genealogy, and confirms other points which had already been established. One of the daughters of the testator, named in the will (the youngest), was Elizabeth, who afterwards became the second wife of John Winthrop, jun., and the mother of all his children. Before her marriage, her father had died, and her mother had become the wife of the celebrated Hugh Peter. The relationship between Peter and the Winthrop Family had, until within a few years, been a matter of conjecture. Mrs. Margaret Lake, who was early at Connecticut, in Winthrop's family, we see was an older sister of Elizabeth; and the other sister, Martha, named in the will as the wife of Daniel Epps, we afterwards find in New England, the wife

(probably the second wife) of Samuel Symonds.* There would seem to have been a mistake made hitherto in recording the Christian name of the father of Elizabeth (Reade) Winthrop. The Winthrop traditional genealogy, Mr. Savage says, gives it "Colonel *Edward* Read of Essex." Besides the error in the Christian name, it is not improbable that the title which belonged to one of the sons, was afterwards, by mistake, given to the father. The will names three sons: William, the eldest, of whose subsequent career we are ignorant; Samuel, the second, who became a physician; and Thomas,† the youngest, who became a colonel in the Parliamentary Army, and Governor of Stirling Castle, and who afterwards served under Monk at the Restoration.—See Savage's Winthrop, first edition, vol. i. p. 65; *ibid.*, second edition, vol. i. p. 78; and Preface, pp. 5, 6; Savage's Geneal. Dict., under "Epps, Lake, Symonds, and Winthrop;" Miss Caulkins's Hist. New London, pp. 40, 44; 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vi. pp. 104, 228.

The will of Edmand Reade here follows:—

Edmand Reade's Last Will and Testament: November y^e 20th 1603. [1623.]

In y^e name of God, Amen, y^e 20th day^e of Nouember in y^e yeare of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and [twenty] thre, I, Edmand Reade, &c. . . .

* Among the Camden Society's publications is a "Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War; kept by Richard Symonds. Now first published from the original MS. in the British Museum, . . . M.DCCC.LIX." The volume contains a "Pedigree of Symonds," in which we find a "Samuel S., 3d son [of a Richard S., who was buried in Yeldham Church, July 8, 1627], one of y^e Cursistars of the Chancery, bought y^e place in Toppesfeild in Essex called Olmers, 100 per ann; went to New England." The author of the "Diary" was a nephew of this Samuel.—See also Savage's Geneal. Dict., article "Symonds."

† Among the miscellaneous Winthrop Papers is an instrument signed by "Priscilla Reade, of London, sole executrix to y^e last will and testament of Thomas Reade, deceased," by which she "quitt claymed" "unto Fitz John Winthrop and Waite Winthrope, execut^{rs} to John Winthrop, of New England, deceased," all demands of whatever nature, &c. It is dated 17th December, 1677. "Sealed and delivered in the p'sence of James Raulins, Sam Reade." The last-named person evidently filled in the blanks in the instrument.

Item ; I giue & bequeth unto y^e Poore of Wickford twenty shillings of Lawfull english mony to be payde to y^m by my Executors [*sic*] with in one Month next after my decease : *Item*, I giue & bequeth unto John Weald my Seruant five pounds of Lawfull english mony to be Payde to him within one yeare after my decease : *Item*, I giue & bequeth unto every one of my other Seruants two shillings a Peece to Be payde to y^m within one Month after my decease : *Item* I giue & bequeth unto William Reade my son & to my daughter Reade forty shillings apeece to Bye y^m Rings : *Item*, I giue & bequeth unto Elizabeth my Louing Wife all those Leases which I haue of M^r Edward Lyliarde & M^r George White ; and allsoe y^e Messages and Tenaments or Lands theireunto belonging which I lately Purchased of M^r Cockerum, now in y^e Teno^r & occupation of John Tyle or his assignes, for & dvring y^e Tearme of her Naturall Life ; and after her decease, I giue & bequeath all y^e s^d Leases Messages or Teniments and y^e lands above spesified unto William Reade, my soñ, upon y^e Condition y^t he y^e s^d William my soñ shall with in forty dayes next after my deth enter into bond to Elizabeth my sd Louing Wife in y^e full soñ of 400^l y^t he y^e s^d William my soñ shall paye unto my soñ Thomas Reade within fourescore dayes after y^e decease of my sd Louing Wife, if he y^e s^d Thomas be yⁿ Living or otherwise to his Children if he haue any then Liuing, y^e full suñ of 240^l of Lawfull english mony, and if my s^d soñ William shall Refuse to enter into Bond to my sd Louing Wife as aforesaide, yⁿ my minde and Will is y^t my sd. soñ Thomas Reade shall Presently after y^e decease of my sd Louing Wife, enter into y^e aforesd leases & Lands ; and allsoe into y^e aforesd Messages or Teniments with y^e apertinances and Lands theireunto belonging, to haue and enjoye to him y^e sd Thomas Reade or y^e eyres of his Body Lawfully begotten, and for Want of such Issue yⁿ to Remayne to my Soñ William Reade and his Eyres for ever : *Item*. I giue & bequeth unto Samuell my second son & to y^e eyres of his body Lawfully begotten ; y^t my Message or Teniment with y^e appertinances & Lands theireunto belonging ; Called or Knowne by y^e Name of Sopers or by what soeuer Name or Names y^e same be calld or Knowne now in y^e Tenor & occupation of George Ballard or his assignes ; and if y^e sd Samuell my soñ shall fortune to depart y^e life with out Eyres of his body lawfully begotten ; yⁿ my minde and Will is y^t Thomas my aforesd soñ shall enter into y^e Messages & Lands afores^d to haue and enjoye y^m to him or y^e eyres of his Body lawfully begotten ; and for Want of such Issue unto William Reade my sd soñ and to his

eyres for euer : Prouided allwayes y^t if y^e sd message or Teniment and lands theireunto belonging, called Sopers herein and hereby formerly giuen & bequethed unto Samuell my soñ shall hapen to Com to William my soñ in maner & forme as aforesaide ; yⁿ I Will y^t my sd soñ William shall with in one Month yⁿ next enter into bond to my Exe-cuto^r [*sic*] herein and hereby nominated (If she be yⁿ Liuing) or other wise to y^e ouerseeres of this my last Will & Testament herein Nominated, in y^e Penall soñ of 600^l with Condition to paye 300^l of Lawfull english mony in maner & forme following : (that is to saye) unto John Lake and Anna Lake two of my Grand Children 50^l apeece : & to Daniell Epps & Elizabeth Epps two other of my Grand children 50 a peece and to Elizabeth my Daughter 100^l of lawfull english mony within one yeare next after y^e sd Message or Teniment & y^e land theireunto belonging called Soppers, shall hapen to Com to my sd soñ William in maner & forme as aforesaide, and if my sd soñ William shall Refuse to enter bond in maner & forme as is aforesaide, then I will y^t all those messages lands & teniments Called sopers shall be and Remyne unto my aforesaide Grand Children, and to y^e Residue of my Grand Children of all my daughters, and to Elizabeth my youngest daughter equally to be diuided amongst y^m and if my sd Grand Children shall hapen to dye before the sd Legasye shall be due, yⁿ my minde & Will is y^t y^e saide Legasye shall Ineur to my two daughters y^e Mothers and Prouided allsoe y^t if Samuell my son hapen to depart this life without Issue of his body lawfully begotten, and that Thomas my soñ enjoye y^e sd lands & teniments afores^d and to him in and by this my last Will & testament bequethed ; then my minde and will is that those leases, lands and Messages with y^e lands theireunto belonging which is before giuen unto my saide soñ Thomas shall presently Ineur and Com to my saide soñ William Reade and to his eyres for euer without paying y^e foresaide sum of 240^l unto Thomas Reade my soñ or any part theireof in maner and forme as is aforesaide. *Item*, I give & bequeth unto my saide Louing Wife y^e lease of Freame and all y^e time and terme to Come an[d] unexpired for and towards y^e Mayntenance and education and bringing vp of Thomas Reade my third soñ : *Item*, I giue and bequeth unto my soñ in Law John Lake and to my Daughter Margrett Lake, forty shillings apeece to make y^m Rings, and to John Lake and Anna Lake theire Children 20th apeece. *Item*, I giue and bequeth unto Daniell Epps & Martha Epps my Daughter 40th apeece to make y^m Rings & to Elizabeth Epps and Daniell Epps theire Children 20th apeece : *Item*, I giue and bequeth

unto Elizabeth my Daughter 200^l of Lawfull mony of england to be payde unto her at her full age of 20 yeares. *Item.* I giue & bequeath unto my Brother John Reade y^e sum of fine pounds to be payde to him within one whole yeare next after my disease: *Item,* I giue and bequeath unto my soñ William my young graye Guilding now in y^e Custodye of my Kinsman John Reade: all y^e Residue of my Goods Chattells and Mooueables what soeuer, I giue and bequeath unto Elizabeth my said Louing Wife, who I make and ordayne my sole executrix of this my last Will & testament; and I doe nominate and appoynt James Lawrence of Clifford's Inn Gentillman and John Reade of Pilsaye, my Kinsman ouersers of this my last Will and testament, and doe hereby giue y^m thre pownd six shillings & eight pence a peece to be payde to y^m by my saide executrix, Intreating y^m to be ayding and assisting my sd louing Wife to se this my last Will and testament duly and truly executed & performed according to my Intent and true meaning herein and hereby set downe & declared. In Witness whereof, I the saide Edmand Reade, haue set my hand to euery seuerall lease and my seale to y^m all fixed together, and doe deliuer y^e same in to y^e hands of my Louing Wife my saide executrix this 20th daye of Nouember in the 21st yeare of y^e Kings Majestyes Raigue, that now is and in anno Domini 1623.

EDMAND READE.

Scaled & deliuered in y^e Presence of Edmand Lamb, Edward Epps, Rob^t Marrable his marke he is M^r Thomas Lakes Mañ.

Vera Copia From Coll. Reade.

[Envelope, indorsed in another hand, "Edmond Reades last Will & testament, Nov^{br} 20th 1623. Copy from Collonell Thomas Reade."]

Dr. WEBB communicated extracts from letters written during the war of the Revolution, but strikingly applicable, as he thought, to the present time.

BALTIMORE, Jan. 30, 1777.

Before this reaches you, you will have heard of the success of our arms at Princetown as well as Trenton.

Our scouting-parties have since been successful in many instances. The principal you will have in the enclosed hand-bill, which, at

the same time, gives an account of the taking of Fort Independence, &c.; on which I heartily congratulate you. A cannonading and platoon firing was heard a few days ago near Elizabeth Town, where a detachment under General Sullivan was posted. From some circumstances, I am induced to believe that our detachment hath come off victorious. I hope to hear of something clever from our State soon. *Now* is the time to strike decisive blows. The British arms are divided, and their ardor is dampened, and ours enhanced by our late successes. It is a good old proverb, to strike while the iron's hot, when 'twill yield to the stroke.

Our affairs are in a fine way at present; and, if we do but push our successes, the contest will be decided this winter: but, if we should not embrace this golden opportunity, re-enforcements will be sent over in the spring, and the war be protracted, to the great loss of the lives and property of the inhabitants of the United States. Therefore I'll hope that the troops collected in our State will not remain inactive this winter, but exert themselves, and make some capital stroke on the enemy.

WILLIAM ELLERY.

PEER'S HILL, Sept. 14, 1777, eleven o'clock, P.M.

GENTLEMEN, — . . . This moment arrived an express from Congress, containing advices that there has been a severe action between General Washington and General Howe last Thursday, on which the former was obliged to retire with the loss of several field-pieces; and, in consequence thereof, the Congress have ordered fifteen hundred men to be immediately sent from here to re-enforce General Washington; which obliges me, for the common safety, to call upon all the officers and soldiers of the Continental troops and militia in the State of Connecticut, that have not special license to be absent, immediately to repair to this post, for the aid and defence thereof, and to defeat and crush our cruel and perfidious foes. And would we, my countrymen, for once lay aside our avarice, oppression, and evil works, for which the land mourns, and the inhabitants thereof are distressed and terrified, and unitedly exert ourselves like freemen, resolved on freedom, through the smiles of Heaven we should put a speedy end to those unnatural disturbers of our peace, and, with them, a period to this unhappy and bloody war, which now ravages and desolates our country, and threatens its inhabitants and their posterity with the most dismal ruin and abject slavery.

Such casualties are incident to human affairs, the natural result of general national depravity; and are avoidable only by reformation and amendment in the public manners of a people.

Awake, then, to virtue and to great military exertion, and we shall put a speedy and happy issue to this mighty contest.

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

To the Colonels and other Officers of the Army and Militia
in the State of Connecticut.

*Extract of a Letter from Quartermaster-General Greene to Governor
Greene of Rhode Island.*

CAMP PRECANESS, July 15, 1780.

In military operations, one thing depends so much upon another, and the success of the whole upon the provision of each part, that nothing is more common than for great events to depend upon little things. Therefore what may appear a trifling consideration often involves important consequences.

NATHANIEL GREENE, *Quartermaster-General.*

Extract of a Letter from General Greene to Governor Greene, dated

CAMP AT KENMOTH.

It is high time for America to raise an army for the war, and not distress the country by short enlistments, and hazard the liberty of the States with an order of men, whose feelings, let their principles be ever so good, cannot be like those who have been long in the field.

Dr. Webb also read the following letter of instructions from Major-General Heath to Captain James Brewer:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, BOSTON, May 4, 1778.

SIR,—You being charged with the safe conduct of several wagons from this place to York Town, in the State of Pennsylvania, three of which contain a large sum of specie, under the care of John Adams, Esq., assistant deputy paymaster of this department,—whose instructions with respect to the moneys you will strictly observe,—exercise every precaution for the safety of the money. When you halt at night, place the wagons as near together as possible, and near

the guard. There are to be always at least three sentries posted over it, for which you will apply to Captain Hutchens. As he is intrusted with the defence of the money, you will obey his orders in that respect.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

W. HEATH, *Major-General.*

Captain JAMES BREWER.

Captain Brewer rendered much efficient service during the early period of the Revolutionary War. It was at his house the party is said to have assembled who destroyed the tea in Boston Harbor on the 16th of December, A.D. 1773. He was at one time the confidential agent between General Washington and the Continental Congress. During the latter part of the war, he engaged in privateering; was captured, carried to England, and there imprisoned until the close of hostilities. His claim for ordinary services took the customary course of similar claims; but for *extraordinary* services he made out the subjoined bill against Government. From the certificate appended being without signatures, I conclude that this was the original draught, of which a transcript was made; or that, upon further reflection, he decided to withhold the bill.

The United States to James Brewer,

Dr.

1775. To 2 6-inch brass mortars, taken from the British troops when the town of Boston was shut up, & carried over to Dorchester and did to our army, 200lbs. a 3s.	£30.00
To 500 pick axes a 6 , made for our army by Mr. Boynton; and, he not being able to get them out of town, I, under cover of a dark night, broke open the back of his smith's shop, took them, and carried them out to our army at the risk of my life.	150.00
	<hr/> £180.00

BOSTON, Aug. 12, 1783. — This certifies that we, the subscribers, are knowing that the above acct. is just, and are ready to testify it on oath.

Dr. WALKER communicated a Memoir of the late Hon. Daniel Appleton White, which he had prepared in compliance with a vote of the Society.

M E M O I R
OF
HON. DANIEL APPLETON WHITE.

BY JAMES WALKER, D.D.

WILLIAM WHITE came to this country from Norfolk County, Eng., in 1635; establishing himself first at Ipswich, afterwards at Newbury, and finally at Haverhill. He was present at the purchase of the land of the last-mentioned town from the Indians; and his name appears as one of the grantees on the deed of sale, bearing date Nov. 15, 1642. From him has descended a numerous posterity, connected by marriage with some of the leading families in New England, and many of them noted in their day for character and influence.

Daniel Appleton White, a sketch of whose life we are about to write, was of this lineage, in the sixth generation. His parents, John and Elizabeth (Haynes) White, originally of Haverhill, had removed to Methuen about four years before his birth, which took place June 7, 1776. He was the eleventh in a family of seventeen children, six of whom were by a former mother, and thirteen of whom lived to have families of their own.

The father was a farmer in easy circumstances, well connected and hospitable,—a good representative of the New-England country gentleman of that time. His house stood upon a broad plain, nearly equidistant from the Merrimack on the south, and the Spicket on the north. His farm, reach-



Wm. H. Allen

THE NEW ENGLAND

From Norfolk County,
 at Ipswich after
 He was present
 mentioned town from
 as one of the grand
 1612 From his
 by marriage
 New England, and many
 and influence.
 whose life we are all at
 in the sixth generation. His
 (Haynes) White, originally
 to Nicholas about 100 years before
 June 7, 1776. He was the
 seven children, six of whom were
 and of whom lived to have
 on your instances, will be
 representatives of the New
 of that time. His home stood
 equidistant to the Merrimack
 on the north. His farm reach-



Dr. A. White

ing from river to river, consisted of nearly three hundred acres; presenting a great variety of rural scenery, and affording more than usual opportunity for rural sports. All is now changed; for this part of Methuen has become the centre of the new manufacturing city of Lawrence. But we speak of things as they were, when the subject of this Memoir was growing up into life. In a manuscript account of his early days,* prepared by himself some years before his death, for the use of his children, he says of this period,—

“Perhaps there were never more circumstances combined to make a happy boyhood from external nature than I enjoyed; and the freedom allowed me by my parents, especially on Sundays, before and after public worship, to ramble over the fields, added to the pleasures they were calculated to afford. My grandfather Haynes had written against the common strict notion of the sabbath, contending that it was a sort of Jewish superstition to observe the day with such strictness.†

* This narrative, from which we shall borrow largely, was written during the winter of 1836-7. It fills two hundred and fifty pages, terminating with his college life in 1797. Much of it is little more than an expansion of a journal which he seems to have kept, with more or less regularity, from his school-boy-days.

† The title of this pamphlet reads thus: “Some Farraginous Remarks upon an Act for the Due Observation of the Lord's Day. By a Lover of the Truth. Printed by E. Russell, at Concord, for J. Haynes of Haverhill. 1793.” To indicate its spirit, we give a single passage: “Not many of the people know but they are keeping the Jewish sabbath still; nor do they desire to know: and it seems that the clergy does not desire that they should know. And it seems as though some of the clergy don't know it themselves, and may think that ignorance is the best mother of devotion, and brings to them the most gain: and the people seem to be afraid that they shall know more than their teachers; and, when any one attempts to inform them, they are offended. So, it seems, these remarks can't be popular.” — p. 18. The following is from a manuscript note by Judge White: “Upon the passage of the act of the General Court respecting the sabbath, in 1792, my grandfather, then almost eighty years old, was greatly excited, and set about writing these strictures, which sufficiently show his views on the subject. I was then just entering college; and well remember, that, upon my frequent visits to him, the burden of his conversation was about the ‘pharisaical General Court,’ as proved by their notions of the sabbath,—a Jewish sabbath, as he maintained.” He speaks of him, in the same note, as “a venerable and excellent relative; a man of great integrity and benevolence.”

This Joseph Haynes was a *malleus hereticorum* in his way. Nearly forty years before, he had written against his own minister, the Rev. Samuel Bacheller, and his clerical abettors, a bulky pamphlet, entitled “A Discourse in order to confute the Heresy delivered, and much contended for, in the West Parish in Haverhill, and countenanced by many of the Ministers of the Neighboring Parishes; viz., that the

My father and mother partook of his sentiments, and held us to nothing more on the sabbath than reading the Bible and going to meeting, with ample indulgence between whiles to walk over the farm, pick berries, look after birds' nests, and the like; but amusements, such as fishing, &c., and work of all kinds, were not allowed. This early indulgence on the sabbath is probably the reason of the delight which has ever been associated in my mind with this sacred day,—a day which has always been the most interesting to me of the whole week."

That his Sunday duty, so far as it consisted in reading the Bible, was never neglected, appears from the same authority:—

"I remember I had read the whole Bible through in course before I was eight, and three times before I was fourteen, besides different portions of it numberless times more. I have still a lively remembrance of the fascination and tears with which I perused, over and over, the affecting story of Joseph and his brethren, and the narrative of our Lord's trial, crucifixion, and resurrection, as well as some other parts of the sacred histories in the Old and New Testament. This familiarity with the Scriptures, especially the Gospels, in my early days, however crude some of my notions were, I have ever considered as having a most propitious influence upon my whole life. It is remarkable how little my impressions, as then received, of Jesus and his disciples, have been changed by subsequent reading and reflection. Their images as then stamped upon my mind, and the most interesting associations then formed, still remain without material alteration."

Other causes were, however, at work to make religion a source of one of the greatest of his youthful troubles. His father and mother were strict Baptists, and also "New Lights," as the followers of Whitefield were then called.

Blood and Water which came from Christ when the Soldier pierced his Side, his Laying in his Grave, and his Resurrection, was no part of Redemption, and that his Laying in the Grave was no part of his Humiliation." An answer by one of the ministers led to a rejoinder by Haynes,—another pamphlet of eighty-two pages. What a question to break up the peace of a country congregation! what a satire on much which passes for theological controversy!

Mr. Haynes, in his last days, was a Baptist. Though without any grammatical learning, as his writings show, he was evidently a shrewd, sincere, and fearless man, and quite a reader and thinker.

The boy's reverence for his parents, to which indeed they would seem to have been eminently entitled by their general excellence of character, together with the conversation and preaching he listened to and most of the books he read, all conspired to convince him that this was the only true religion, and that the whole must begin in a sudden and miraculous "change of heart." Hence his passionate longing for this change, mingled, as was natural, with many childish fancies and terrors.

"My distress at times was great, and not less for being kept within my own knowledge. Often would I wander in the fields alone, and in some secret place throw myself on my knees, and pour out my soul in prayer to God for a new heart, — for the change, the conversion, which his sovereign grace alone could effect. But my state of feeling remained the same; my imagination kept cool: I could perceive no sign that my prayers were heard. How long these trials continued, I cannot say; but I believe, in a greater or less degree, for several years. I at length became calm and easy; without, however, any change in my opinions as to the necessity of conversion and regeneration in the New-Light sense."

Afterwards, referring to the same subject, he observes, —

"The religious sentiments imbibed under the influence of the 'New Lights' followed me to college, as I well remember taking Whitefield's 'Journal' with me the first term; but they did not long abide with me. I hardly know what might not have been the fate of my Christian faith, had I not found a satisfactory substitute for them. Priestley's works were open to me there; and such was my veneration for him as a philosopher, and such was the strength as well as simplicity of his faith, and such were the clearness and force with which he illustrated it, while he most ably vindicated the truth of Christianity itself, that, without embracing all his views, I was led to believe them substantially correct, and happy to find in them a refuge for my religious faith from the fanaticism which had threatened it, and from the gloomy doctrine which had so long haunted and distressed me."

It was a happy day for Daniel, when the family counsels resulted in the determination that he should go to college.

In June, 1792, he was sent to Atkinson Academy, then under the instruction of Mr. Silas Dinsmore, in order to pursue the preparatory studies. What these were at that time, may be gathered from the following entry made in his journal not long before he left the school:—

“Under his [Mr. Dinsmore’s] tuition I have been about eleven months, and have recited to him the Lady’s Accidence, and parsed English; then, in course, the Latin Accidence [old Master Cheever’s], and part of Corderius and Eutropius; the whole of the *Æneid*, *Bucolics*, and *Georgics* of Virgil; all the small Tully; all the Greek Testament, after having studied the Greek Grammar; also all Clarke’s Introduction to making Latin, and the Rules of Scanning; and now think myself qualified to enter Harvard College. In getting thus qualified, it took me, after I began to study Latin, exclusive of vacations and lost time, about seven and a half months, according to my computation.”

While at the academy, he seems to have been very happy and very assiduous; often giving from fourteen to fifteen hours a day to study. The only thing he afterwards had occasion to regret, in looking back on this period, was, that he did not spare more time for exercise in the open air,—a neglect from which his health suffered for many years.

With the preparation above mentioned, he found no difficulty in passing his examinations at the ensuing Commencement, 1793. He gives a minute account of his journey to Cambridge for that purpose, and of his first impressions of the place. He arrived there at seven o’clock in the morning, and found the Common covered with tents and vehicles, as was then usual on Commencement Day. The whole scene, together with the throng and bustle, was sufficiently novel and exciting. Still, the external appearance of the college and its appurtenances hardly came up to his expectations. This he accounts for by observing that there were at that time but four public buildings,—Massachusetts, Harvard, and Hollis Halls, and Holden Chapel; that the last, for some reason, was in a dilapidated state, and not used; and that the others, as

well as the college-yard, remained just as they were when occupied as barracks by the soldiers in the Revolutionary War. We may add, that his anticipated connection with the university made him more alive to what he heard than to what he saw. Accordingly he says,—

“I have more distinct impressions of the parts, the performers, and the sentiments uttered on this Commencement, than of those of any subsequent one, not excepting my own. I have now a clear view of Judge Jackson, as he then appeared delivering his concluding oration on ‘Liberality of Sentiment,’ and of Dr. Pierce delivering his on ‘Astronomy.’ In the afternoon, too, we had Josiah Quincy, with his Master’s Oration, on ‘The Ideal Superiority of the Present Age.’ I still see him, with his craped cushion rising above his forehead, stepping about the stage with the air and confidence of one who felt, as he really might, that he had something to deliver worth hearing, and that he meant the manner should be worthy of the matter.”

The manuscript memoir, from which I have already borrowed so freely, is very full and circumstantial in its details of college-life, such as it was near the close of the last century. It is a satisfaction to know, on the evidence of so trustworthy a document, much of which is copied from a journal kept at the time, that here at least there has been some improvement, and this, too, not more in scholarship than in order and good conduct. The writer says,—

“When I entered college, the French Revolution had broken up the foundations of religion and morals, as well as of government, and continued to rage for some years with its utmost fury, spreading its disastrous influence throughout the civilized world, and pouring in upon our country, more especially, a flood of infidel and licentious principles; and I have no doubt, that to these, and the pernicious books embodying them, much of the disorderly conduct, and most of the infidel and irreligious spirit, which prevailed at that period among the students at Cambridge, may be imputed. The patrons and governors of the college made efforts to counteract the effect of these fatal principles, by exhortation and preaching and prayers, as well as by the publication and distribution of good books and pamphlets. Watson’s ‘Apology for the Bible,’ in answer to Paine’s ‘Age of Reason,’ I well remember, was

presented, at the instance and expense of the corporation, to every student. Yet so deeply and so generally had the French mania seized upon the popular mind in this country, and so susceptible of its fiery influence were the ardent spirits of young men, all alive to freedom of thought and action and indulgence, that reason and argument and persuasion had for some time no power against it."

Other causes were co-operating at that time to corrupt the public morals. Among the rest, the growing prosperity of the country had begun to open the door to self-indulgence of every kind; and the way in which the governors of the college thought to withstand this tendency of things was neither wise nor firm.

"An early code of the college-laws had taken the proper ground, by providing that 'no distilled spirits, or any such mixed drinks as flip or punch, should be used by any residents at college in entertaining one another or strangers.' Had this provision been strictly enforced till made an established custom, a vast deal of mischief and vice might have been avoided. But the customs of society prevailed against it; and the college authorities so far relaxed the rule, as to allow of punch, 'it being, as then generally made [so says the amended code], not an intoxicating drink.' Then there was the Buttery, kept by a graduate in a room in Massachusetts, with a salary from the college-government, for recording *exits* from town, fines, &c., with the privilege of keeping wines and other liquors, as well as certain eatables and various other accommodations, for the students. The design of this was, probably, to prevent the students from resorting to the shops and taverns in the vicinity for such articles; but it was perverted in practice, and, so far from preventing them in the use of wines and liquors, rather encouraged them in excessive indulgence, by bringing the means within the immediate reach of every one within the college."

As a natural consequence, the record before us abounds in notices of college disturbances, and of the measures taken by the officers to repress them. The disturbances, it would seem, were much more frequent than is now usual in the New-England colleges; and also more serious, as they often took the form, not of mere frolic or mischief, but of open and organized opposition to the college authorities. The change

is doubtless owing, in part, to the higher tone of manners among the students; but something is due likewise to improved methods of academical study and discipline, and especially to what may be called a better preventive police. Merely by the discontinuance of Commons and Evening Prayers, more than half of the occasions and opportunities of college disorder have been effectually and for ever removed. There is also evidence of improvement in administrative skill. What college, at the present day, would think to suspend its regular work for days, and even weeks, while investigations were going on? or call up offenders for sentence in the chapel before all the students? Yet these things appear to have been matters of course seventy years ago. As might have been expected, the public arraignment of the real or supposed wrong-doers often led to astounding indecorums. Take a single instance:—

“ Friday, Dec. 6, 1793. — The Government all assembled at morning prayers. —, sophomore, was ordered to stand forth in the aisle, and, for offences stated, rusticated. This put him into a violent passion; and, seizing a large cane which he had been ordered to lay aside, he swung it round his head, and exclaimed, ‘ It is all a damned lie! You are a pack of devils, and I despise you!’ Immediately thereon, one of the officers made a motion for his expulsion from college; which, being put by the President, passed unanimously on the spot.”

Whatever may have been the dangers of the times or the place, the subject of this Memoir was effectually protected against them by his religious education, by his love of learning, by his virtuous friendships, by the thoughtfulness, prudence, and self-control which distinguished him from youth to old age. Of the literary advantages afforded by the college, such as they were, he availed himself to the utmost; here, as at school, the only ground of apprehension being, that he would overwork a constitution never robust. Among his teachers, he mentions with special regard Mr. (afterwards President) Kirkland, who was his class tutor for the Fresh-

man year; Professor Pearson, described as being "an admirable private lecturer in his department;" and Professor Tappan, whose public lectures would seem to have been the only ones listened to with much interest by the students. His strong social inclinations led him also to make much of college-clubs, and to be concerned in instituting several, one of which still survives, and under its old name. An authentic account of its humble beginnings may be of use to the college antiquary. After referring to a Coffee Club, which was not transmitted, he goes on:—

" Besides this association, there was another which sprung up in our class this term very accidentally, but which had a more permanent existence, and proved full of interest and enjoyment to its original members. I allude to the Hasty-pudding Club. A few of my class, who were fond of hasty-pudding, engaged a woman near the college to make it for them every Saturday evening. A number of others, including myself, soon joined them, and formed ourselves into a society; at first, simply taking our pudding and milk; passing an hour or two together; and concluding with a hymn, sung to the tune of St. Martin's, as appropriate to the evening. At length, and by degrees, our exercises and enjoyments increased, and assumed a more literary and interesting character. We had debates and discussions; and sometimes held mock-courts, and went through the forms of trials, with judges, juries, and advocates, constituted by the society. These were often amusing to us, and not entirely without benefit and improvement. Our first celebration was on Washington's birthday, Feb. 22, 1796. I was honored with the appointment of orator for the occasion."

We have seen that his religious opinions took their final direction, if not a perfect and consistent form, while he was an under-graduate. The same may be also said of his political views. We give the statement in his own words:—

" In the next chamber to ours, we had a pleasant neighbor in Mr. Sales, the present [1837] teacher of Spanish and French in the university,—then a young man, recently from France, and full of enthusiasm for liberty and equality. I recollect his saying he would object to being in heaven, if they had not a republican government there. I know not but he might have awakened in us, by force of sympathy,

something of a feeling for the French; for we took the 'Independent Chronicle,' then a violent newspaper on that side, for a few months, but afterwards exchanged it for the 'Columbian Centinel.' This was my initiation into politics. I did not cease to be Freshman, before my eyes were opened to the fury and madness of French liberty, and the extravagances of American democracy acting in sympathy with it. The wisdom of the framers of the Federal Constitution, then in successful operation under Washington, and of the conductors of his administration, appeared manifest to me; their policy and measures being pursued with singular uprightness and true patriotism, and calculated to secure liberty with order, and to advance the best interests and welfare of the country, its true honor and dignity, and to inspire the people with a love of public and private virtue and the spirit of real patriotism. I was, of course, a firm and hearty Federalist; and have never since, for a single moment, seen reason to doubt, or felt hesitation in declaring, the soundness and purity of the principles of Federalism, the principles of Washington and Hamilton."

His class was a large one for that time, including the Hon. Horace Binney of Philadelphia, Samuel Farrar, Esq., of Andover, and the Rev. Dr. Jenks of Boston, who still (1863) survive; also, among the dead, Dr. John C. Warren of Boston, the Hon. James Richardson of Dedham, Chief-Justice Richardson of New Hampshire, and Professor Asahel Stearns of the Law School at Cambridge. Their Commencement took place July 19, 1797, with the usual number, and more than the usual variety, of exercises,—among the rest, three poems, a dialogue in French, and a Hebrew oration. Binney and White had long been candidates for the highest honors of the day. To show how little ground there is for the fears sometimes expressed as to the moral effect of college rivalries, we cannot refrain from mentioning, that the latter always deemed it "an unmerited distinction" that these honors were finally awarded to him; and that neither this circumstance, nor any thing else, ever disturbed for a moment the mutual affection and regard of the two friends. Mr. White delivered the principal English oration; taking for his subject "The

Reign of Prejudice," and closing, as was then the custom, with a commemoration of the benefactors of the university.

Looking back in advanced life on his whole academic course, Judge White bears this testimony:—

"The five years which I passed, from my entrance into Atkinson Academy to my leaving Harvard College, were among the happiest of my life. I have ever regarded them, too, as unquestionably among the most important. My education at Cambridge, together with the associations connected with it and the friendships growing out of it, have certainly been the source of many of my richest enjoyments, if not of my principal qualifications for being useful to others." *

In choosing a profession, he was troubled by difficulties from without and from within. Naturally of a serious and devotional turn of mind, and with all his prevailing tastes in favor of a literary and quiet life, it may seem strange that he did not enter at once on the study of divinity. We give the explanation in his own words:—

"I should probably have selected this profession, for neither of the others had any attraction in my view, had it not been for the peculiar state of my own mind in respect to religious doctrines, and the strong

* For statistical purposes connected with the relative expenses of living at different periods, it may be well to mention, that his proper college charges for the four years amounted to four hundred and eighty dollars; and that the whole cost of his education at Cambridge, "including clothes, books, travelling-expenses, pocket-money, &c.," did not exceed eight hundred dollars.

Still further to illustrate economic changes, we copy the following from the manuscript autobiography, giving a glimpse of country life at that period: "You, my dear William and Henry, who have little more to do than speak to a tailor or shoemaker when you have occasion for the products of either, can have no idea of what I had sometimes to go through in supplying myself with such necessary articles. I had, this vacation, a suit of college-gray, made of homespun, which I had to take to the clothier's to be draped; then after it a number of times, generally, before it could be had; then to Haverhill for a tailor, in vain; then to Andover, with better success. So, likewise, I had to get of the currier leather, and take to the shoemaker; who kept no stock for his customers, but merely afforded his work. I find I had to ride no less than four times, and as many miles too, to a currier, for a pair of boot-legs; which were then prepared in a particular manner, so as to stretch, to let the heel through; and then shrink, to set snug to the leg,—the great beauty of the boot at that time. I succeeded, at last, in getting a pair which I could put on; and found myself in boots, for the first time, on the last day of January, 1794."

opinions and feelings of my father and mother as to the awful responsibility of entering this profession without conversion and a divine call. To neither of these could I make any pretension; and therefore could not become a preacher without deeply wounding the hearts of those whom I loved and revered. But, besides this objection, my own mind was not then in a proper state for undertaking the duties of the sacred office. Calvinism, which I had mistaken for Christianity, had lost its hold on my mind and affections; and though I clung to the Christian faith, yet I was too much perplexed with doubts, and too unsettled in my religious opinions, to allow myself to think of becoming an expounder of Christianity to others."

That these reasons did not entirely reconcile him to the abandonment of the course he would otherwise have pursued, appears from a letter written to one of his most intimate friends, even after he had begun his legal studies. He there says, "For my own part, I have sometimes, of late, almost regretted that I could not have studied divinity. I feel convinced it is a more peaceful and happy profession than that of the law."

Though he had decided upon his profession at the time of graduating, it was several years before he began to prepare himself for it, except at leisure hours, to be spared from his proper business as an instructor. Two of those years were passed at Medford, as teacher of the public Grammar School. While there, he occasionally, in writing to his friends, bemoaned the necessity he was under of giving so many of his best days to an occupation not likely to advance his main object in life. Still he was neither inactive nor unhappy. He kept up many of his college intimacies; he entered freely into society; above all, he laid the foundation of a lasting friendship with Dr. Osgood, the distinguished clergyman of the place, for whom he always entertained great affection and reverence.

Neither Medford influences, nor the temper of the times, were of a nature to moderate his political partialities. Ac-

cordingly, his letters at this period abound in allusions to what he considered the outrageous conduct of the "Jacobins," as they were then called. Thus, under date of March 18, 1799, we have his account of the judicial proceedings against a political offender of that party, which sounds strangely in our ears:—

"Since my last, I have attended the trial of one of the 'Chronicle' printers, indicted at common law for a libel upon our State Legislature, occasioned by their decision upon the Virginia Resolutions. His defence was managed by G. Blake and B. Whitman,—the latter a strong Federalist. They endeavored to show that the common law of England, as to libels, is unreasonable, contradicting the maxim that law is 'the perfection of reason;' and contradictory in itself, being different in different reigns. They urged the impropriety of admitting it into our courts of justice, as the genius of the country and the nature of our government and institutions are so different from those of England, and all opposed to it. They dwelt much, too, upon the freedom of the press, and the danger of beginning to restrain it. Whitman acknowledged that the publication in question was bad enough,—so bad, indeed, that it 'out-Chronicled the Chronicle;' yet he did not think it would justify the court in establishing a precedent for cramping the press. This, you will remember, is the first instance of a prosecution here for a libel upon the Government. The Attorney-General, Sullivan, replied in a very able manner, and agreeably disappointed some, who had felt suspicious of him on account of his political biases. He clearly showed the uniform practical necessity of admitting the common law of England in our country; that it is consistent and reasonable; that there is a manifest difference between the liberty and the licentiousness of the press; that the 'Chronicle' cried aloud for a check, transcending all bounds of decency; in fine, that nothing could be found in the publications during our Revolution equal to the calumnies of that paper. He was sustained by the whole force of the Bench; and the verdict of the jury, though containing several democrats, was, GUILTY."

In August, 1799, Mr. White returned to Cambridge, with a view to give himself exclusively to his professional studies. But his inclination for an academic life broke up this purpose, and induced him, in the following November, to accept the

appointment of Latin tutor in the college, — a place which he held for nearly four years. In a letter to a classmate abroad, dated Nov. 12, 1800, he gives us to understand how the tutors of that day passed their time: —

“ We have a good opportunity for attending to books, with a rich portion of social comfort; being together every day, more or less, and free to interchange our thoughts and feelings as they arise. Politics, you know, in all free countries, is the prevailing topic of conversation. When all people are at liberty to speak their thoughts upon the measures of government, various parties and opinions will spring up, and produce animated discussions. We hear a great deal of this at our colloquial meetings. While the question was *Jacobin* or *Federal*, most men of intelligence and honesty here were of one side; but since, among the latter, the Essex Junto, so called and imagined, has made a new distinction, even we tutors — *alias* the ‘ragged regiment,’ as Tutor Barron styled them — are not always agreed. I believe I have mentioned before the mission to France, the disbanding the army, the dismissal of Pickering, the pardon of Fries, &c.; and that these proceedings of President Adams had created dissatisfaction, and produced a division among the Federalists. At the head of the new party opposed to the President stands General Hamilton, who has written and published, at least for his political friends, a severe letter against Adams, in which every thing is adduced of an unfavorable character which could be collected from the whole of his public and private life, his writings and conversation, yet all amounting to little in the eye of candor.”

He also mentions, in the same letter, a literary enterprise on the part of the Cambridge scholars, in the success of which he seems to have been much interested. “The Phi Beta Kappa Society, at the last Commencement, formed the plan of a ‘Literary Review and Miscellany,’ to be published by them quarterly.* The committee in charge of the same has since connected it with a magazine to be published monthly in

* Professor Willard must have been mistaken in thinking that this vote was passed in 1803. It seems that he had to trust to his memory alone; for, on asking permission to search the records of the society, they were not to be found. — See his “Memories of Youth and Manhood,” vol. ii. pp. 133, 156.

Boston; the communications of the society to be printed at the end, and pagged by themselves, so as to admit of being separately bound. I hope you will send us over something for it while you are in England." This plan was not carried into effect; at least, not immediately, nor in the form here proposed: but the "Literary Miscellany," which first appeared in July, 1804, grew out of the movement. No allusion is made to the Phi Beta Kappa in the prospectus of the "Miscellany," probably from prudential reasons, as the prejudice was strong at that time against all secret associations; but the members of the society, as Professor Willard tells us, "were expected to be its special patrons." It was a quarterly publication, which struggled on for two years, and then expired, being supplanted by its more successful rival, the "Monthly Anthology." It had among its contributors John Quincy Adams, John Thornton Kirkland, Joseph Stevens Buckminster, and Andrews Norton. Mr. White contributed a paper entitled "Remarks on Memoirs of Solomon Gessner," and probably others.

The college, in the time of Mr. White's connection with the Immediate Government, the name then given to the Faculty, was much more dependent on the tutors, both for instruction and discipline, than at present. Teaching, moreover, had not as yet become a distinct profession; so that the tutorships were seldom filled, as they often are now, by persons ambitious to qualify themselves for higher distinctions in the same calling. Almost without exception, they were students in divinity or law, seldom holding the place more than a single year; with their minds and hearts intent, meanwhile, on other pursuits and prospects. Under these circumstances, Mr. White's longer residence, together with his decided academic tastes and aptitudes, and his earnest support of a wise and firm rule, made his influence to be felt in college affairs in an unusual degree, and on the right side. Still, as may be gathered from his own statements, things

were managed in a loose way. Referring, in his correspondence, to the assignment of parts for Commencement in 1802, he observes, "We have taken great pains, and spent ten or twelve evenings, with one afternoon, in adjusting and settling them. The arrangement, on the whole, pleases me, though in some instances I was in the minority on the question for deciding them." Under the present system, the same work would be done for a class twice as large in a quarter of an hour, with as much substantial justice, to say the least, and with infinitely less dissatisfaction and heart-burning.

At length, though not, as it would seem, without some importunity on the part of his friends, he resigned his tutorship. The following passage, in a letter written when he was on the eve of leaving Cambridge, shows that Blackstone, and Coke on Littleton, had not, thus far, succeeded in banishing the classics:—

"I have not yet made any positive engagements for the next year. Indeed, I have been quite a recluse at home in study; not, however, in law, but in Latin. I can truly say, that from no reading have I ever derived more satisfaction and amusement than from Tully's literary and philosophical works. He appears to have been a man of as fine feelings as talents. His essays on Old Age and Friendship are superior to any thing I ever met with elsewhere on those subjects. I had supposed his ideas on friendship extravagant and romantic; but I believe he has said nothing which you could not accede to in practice, as I do in theory. His treatise 'De Oratore' is the groundwork of every thing excellent since produced on the subject; and as to his work, 'De Officiis,' nothing exceeds the wisdom and purity of its moral precepts but Christ's Sermon on the Mount."

Having decided to finish his legal studies with Mr. (afterwards Judge) Putnam in Salem, he removed to that place in September, 1803.* Here he began his intimacy and friend-

* From the time of his return to Cambridge, in the summer of 1799, his name had been in an office there,—first in Mr. Joseph Bartlett's, afterwards in Mr. Francis Dana Channing's. In making up the term of study then required for admission to the Bar, these four years were counted for a little more than two.

ship with Mr. John Pickering, whom he found, to use his own language, "most valuable as a fellow-student in the same office, and altogether delightful as a social and literary companion." Both were bent on keeping up their scholarly tastes and habits. This appears from the fact, that they had been together but a few months before they accepted a proposition on the part of Cushing and Appleton, publishers in Salem, to edit a new edition of Sallust. It was the earliest, or one of the earliest attempts of the kind in the country; and therefore, as a matter of literary history, deserves more than a passing notice.

The text was carefully revised, and collated with three of the best editions of the author, and the most important of the various readings are given. The notes are chiefly selected from the Delphine Sallust; but these are often modified and abridged, and many are inserted from other sources. Unwearied pains were also taken in correcting the press; so that, in this respect, it will bear comparison with the best editions of the classics published here or abroad. Mr. White, in a letter to Mr. Ticknor, gives the following account of the manner in which the editors proceeded with their work:—

"After undertaking the task, we pursued our labors very faithfully together at Mr. Putnam's office; generally devoting to it several hours of every afternoon. It was to me an exceedingly interesting occupation, and was rendered altogether delightful from having such a companion in the work. Mr. Pickering was, of course, the arbiter in all our deliberations pertaining to the text and other matters of criticism. What he chiefly expected of me was the selection of notes, especially those to be taken from the Delphine edition; and I think also my particular attention in regard to the punctuation. In fact, I was but his assistant, and really wished to refer every thing to him; though, from his habitual modesty, he would seem to refer all to me. In July, 1804, I removed to Newburyport, before our joint undertaking was finished; and did little more afterwards than to mark the notes selected from the Delphine edition, to look over the proof-sheets which Mr. Pickering sent to me, and to advise about questions which he would

still insist upon submitting to me. He wrote the Latin preface, and also the English notice in the 'Literary Miscellany;' sending both to me for revision, which neither needed. Of the former, he thus speaks in his letter to me: 'I enclose a paper which I am almost ashamed you should see,—a draught of the preface to be prefixed to the Sallust. I beg you, as the responsibility will fall wholly upon you, to look it through with attention, and expunge and alter without mercy.' In another letter, he proposed expunging from our edition the sentence in Marius's speech (near the close) — '*turpissimæ parti corporis*' — in the Jugurthine War; asking me to 'weigh the thing with some attention,' and send my answer. Both of us, indeed, kept in view the benefit of *learners*, more than the approbation of the *learned*; and our editorial labors, the entire responsibility of which Mr. Pickering could not escape, ought to be judged accordingly."*

Meanwhile, matters more proper to his profession were not neglected. It is interesting to read an account of the impressions made on a young law-student, at the time, by the forensic eloquence and skill of two men whose fame is fast becoming matter of tradition or history. Writing to his classmate Kimball, May 5, 1804, he says, —

"I have passed two days at court, and had the satisfaction of hearing Parsons and Dexter in the Crowninshield case. Each of them delivered a most learned and ingenious argument. Dexter had the weaker side, and therefore made greater exertions, and took up more time; but, as the case turned on points of law rather than facts, Parsons appeared more eminently to advantage as a lawyer. He is indeed a wonderful man. Perfectly at home in all sorts of law, as well as of other knowledge and learning, he appears to be incapable of surprise or embarrassment; whereas Dexter, from his deficiency in some of the sciences, and perhaps in some branches of the law, is exposed to both: but his astonishing presence of mind, and his intuitive perception and penetration, secure him a safe and honorable retreat

* The titlepage of this edition reads thus: "C. Crispi Sallustii Belli Catilinarii et Jugurthini Historiæ. Editio emendatior juxta Editiones optimas diligentissime inter se collatas; illustrata Notis selectis: cum Indice copioso. Salem, Massachusettensiū: Excudebat Josua Cushing, impensis T. C. Cushing et J. S. Appleton. MDCCCV." Nearly the whole impression was destroyed by fire; and the publishers lost so much otherwise by that calamity, that they had no courage to undertake a second edition.

from every difficulty. These two men I believe to be the greatest among the lawyers of New England; yet they are very different. Both are subtle, ingenious, and powerful in argument; but, in the one, it seems to proceed from native strength, and quickness of genius; and in the other, from a long and labored culture of his genius and logical powers. On subjects of equity, and in addresses to the feelings, or discussions of general policy, Dexter may be superior; but nowhere else. Parsons is the greater lawyer, — perhaps the greater man. He is certainly the safer model."

Mr. White was admitted to the Bar, June 26, 1804; and soon afterwards took up his residence and opened an office in Newburyport. Here he won early success as a lawyer: still, the profession never so far engrossed his thoughts as to make him indifferent to other things.

The public mind at this time was profoundly agitated by the death of Alexander Hamilton; and Mr. White's allusions to the event itself, and to the notices of it, are not without interest. They show, what indeed might have been expected from his residence in the county and from his principal associations, that he had now become a zealous member of that section of the Federal party known under the *sobriquet* of "the Essex Junto." Writing to a young friend, Aug. 16, he says, —

"The day I left you at Cambridge, I regretted you could not accompany me to Boston, and hear the eulogy on Hamilton. It would have added much to my pleasure, and I think you would have found the performances interesting. The prayer, by Dr. Kirkland, was a sublime and most affecting devotional exercise. I could not refrain from wishing that all the duties of the day had devolved on him. Mr. Otis, however, gave a clear and full view of the life and services of the illustrious deceased; and, doing this, his eulogy could not fail deeply to interest and gratify his hearers. But it did not rise to that dignity, and pathos of eloquence, which the occasion demanded. His own feelings did not seem to have been powerfully excited either in the writing or delivery of it; nor were his expressions always chosen with taste, or a due regard to the moral sublimity of his subject. In some parts of his discourse, however, he was quite happy, as in his apostrophe to

‘the ministers and warriors of imperial France;’ but his long apostrophe to ‘insatiable Death’ might have been spared. A far more masterly delineation of the character of Hamilton has appeared in Dr. Park’s ‘Repertory,’ — a delineation bearing the strong marks of genius and sensibility. The more you read this fine sketch, the more you will admire it. It is truly original, discriminating, and appropriate. The allusion to Hercules and Hector convey most forcibly and beautifully to our feelings the reasons we have for perpetually deploring the loss of Hamilton. It is not that he was the *ornament*, so much as that he was the *defence*, of the country. It is not that he was a man of genius, a scholar and civilian of the highest order, that we so deeply lament him; but because he had been, and always would have been, the fearless and able advocate of the public interests and rights, — the heroic champion of the Constitution and of the country, in every exigency.”

In writing to another correspondent, a month later, he expresses himself in still stronger terms. We make room for a brief extract, carrying us back to the time when Massachusetts and South Carolina could think and feel together: —

“The subject of your last letter was, as you may well judge from your own feelings, extremely interesting to me; nor can it ever cease to be so. My heart is full of it, and running over. Every scrap I find relating to Hamilton, I as eagerly seize as at the first moment of the terrible tidings of his death. Not ten minutes since, I accidentally took up a paper at the insurance-office, which contained a bold, brilliant, and animated sketch of the inimitable man, from the clear head and warm heart of the editor of the Charleston ‘Courier.’ It was full of pathos. I felt obliged to retreat, in my weakness, to my office. Mr. Carpenter pronounces Hamilton’s death the greatest loss this country has heretofore sustained, or can possibly sustain, in the death of any individual. The death of Washington, he thinks, bears no comparison to it as a national loss.”

The interest which Mr. White took in his friends, and his views of the offices of friendship, were such as would have satisfied Cicero. Indeed, his character in this respect, both in its simplicity and intensity, seemed cast in an antique mould. His friendships were like those we read of in the

classics and in the Old Testament; with this difference only, that they were penetrated and informed by a Christian spirit. Of this, the narrative of his life, in the first winter after his settlement at Newburyport, supplies a striking illustration. His classmate Kimball—his chum while an under-graduate, and a fellow-tutor afterwards—was very dear to him. Mr. Kimball gave but a single year to his tutorship, and therefore was three years in advance of Mr. White in his profession; having already made a beginning of much promise. But a cloud had come over his prospects. The lady to whom he was about to be married had died; and the symptoms of a fatal malady had begun to menace his own life. It is interesting to read the correspondence of the two young men at this time; literally sharing each other's hopes and fears, joys and griefs. As Mr. Kimball's decline became more and more manifest, the tone of his friend's letters becomes almost painfully sympathetic. No mother could betray more anxiety or solicitude, no sister could express it more tenderly; and, when the inevitable hour drew nigh, every thing but the most pressing duties was forgotten, that he might be at his side.

Writing from Haverhill in December, he says,—

“My time is now divided between this place and Newburyport. Our friend Kimball is now on the bed, taking a short repose; too feeble to sit up all the day, and unable to speak except in whispers. I have been with him since Friday last, and find him much weaker than when I was here about a fortnight ago. His cough is very distressing; and, if not relieved, must bring on a dissolution before many weeks. As to recovering, neither he nor any of his friends have the least hope of it. He has ‘set his house in order,’ and seems prepared to leave us. He appears a marvel of fortitude and patient resignation. God grant him peace and consolation while he remains, and Christian resolution and hope to sustain his spirit, under all his trials, in a manner worthy of himself! I have long been preparing my mind for the afflictive event which must prove to me so severe a loss; and I hope I shall be resigned to the will of Heaven.”

March 19, 1805, he writes again:—

“Our most worthy and beloved friend is no more! He lost the power of speech between four and five o'clock, and became apparently very easy; his breath gradually losing its power till it was imperceptibly exhausted. Such is the end of human strength and human greatness. While by his bedside, and watching the last beat of his pulse, I felt, more forcibly than at any moment of my life before, the vanity, the nothingness, of human life, without the solace and prospects of religion. Without religion, every thing is a mystery. This alone enables us to comprehend ourselves; to feel our littleness, and, at the same time, to understand our importance; to sustain our afflictions and pains; and to become worthy of enjoying, in a future life, blessings which we are allowed only to imagine in this.”

After the funeral, seriously affected in his spirits and in his health, he returned home.*

But Mr. White's affections were far from being shut up in the narrow circle of his private friendships and intimacies. An address delivered by him before the Merrimack Humane Society, Sept. 3, 1805, contains an earnest plea for a life of public usefulness and Christian philanthropy.† And what he preached he practised. He was one of the founders of the Merrimack Bible Society; a trustee for many years of Dummer Academy; an active member of the Committee for obtaining Relief for the Sufferers by the Great Fire in Newburyport. Indeed, so long as he continued to reside in that place, there seems to have been no important movement in the town or vicinity, having for its object the good of the community, with which his name is not connected.

* See “A Discourse, delivered in Haverhill, March 22, 1805, at the Funeral of Jabez Kimball, A.M., who died March 19, æt. 33. To which is added a Short Memoir of his Life. By John Snelling Popkin, Minister of Newbury.” Mr. White was a great admirer of Dr. Popkin, and his parishioner while he continued at Newbury,—the church not being far from Newburyport. The “Short Memoir,” though purporting to come from the author of the discourse, was evidently prepared, at least in substance, by Mr. White.

† It is evidence of the favor with which this address was received, that it passed through several editions; the copy before us being of the third.

Meanwhile, there was no abatement of his interest in the college. He entered eagerly into the controversy raised by Dr. Morse on the election of Dr. Ware, in 1805, to the Hollis Professorship of Divinity; insisting that there was nothing in the conditions imposed by the founder making it necessary that the election should turn on sectarian grounds. He was also very solicitous about the course which the corporation might take in filling the vacancy occasioned by the death of President Willard. It will be remembered that Fisher Ames had just declined the appointment, and the place was still open. In a letter to Mr. White from one of the tutors, dated Feb. 12, 1806, we have a glimpse of college politics in those days:—

“Who will be President of Harvard College? or when the office will be filled? are questions too difficult to be resolved at present. I hope, with you, that another election will not be made before it is ascertained whether the candidate would accept. It must mortify the pride of every son of Harvard to see his Alma Mater begging for a husband. Dr. Pearson and Dr. Kirkland are principally talked of in this neighborhood as candidates for the office. The chances in favor of the former I think somewhat less, and for the latter greater, than they were six months ago; but some other person must be set up before the public opinion will be concentrated. I wonder Mr. Ware, the divinity professor, has not been more canvassed. I think he possesses many qualifications for the office, and shall not be surprised should he eventually obtain it. The corporation is pressed on every side to make a second choice immediately; but that body is not easily impelled to act. You ask what I think of Judge Davis. I have heard very little said of him, of late, with reference to that office. I believe he told the corporation, about a year since, that he would not consent to be viewed as a candidate. As to his qualifications, I am not perfectly satisfied. I have not the honor of an intimate acquaintance with him. I, however, esteem him very highly, though not on account of presidential qualities. If my opinion of his character be not erroneous, he had rather read his books than attend to business; he would sooner second the motion of another, than make one himself; and perhaps would relinquish an object, rather than contend strenuously to gain it. His reputation as a

scholar and a gentleman are sufficiently elevated to give the college some celebrity abroad ; but, in discharging the duties of the office, I fear he would be found deficient. He would have more of the *suaviter in modo* than of the *fortiter in re* ; both which qualities are equally essential in a president."

It is hardly necessary to add, that the choice, in this instance, did not fall on either of the candidates mentioned above, but on Professor Webber.

Mr. White was married May 24, 1807, to Mrs. Mary van Schalkwyck, daughter of Dr. Josiah Wilder of Lancaster, in this State, who graduated at Yale College in 1767, and died in 1788. The marriage took place at the house of her step-father, Dr. Isaac Hurd of Concord. She must have been a lady of uncommon gifts and attractions. Mr. White's letters and private papers, at the time and afterwards, abound in allusions to her, and always in terms overflowing with the tenderest affection and respect. But the connection which promised so much happiness was not to last long. Her failing health soon warned him of this ; without, however, preparing him for it. She died June 29, 1811 ; leaving him with the care of two daughters. This care, from the new interest it awakened and from the spirit in which he entered upon it, was perhaps his best solace. Yet three years afterwards, in reply to inquiries of a correspondent respecting his loss, he writes :—

"I cannot deny that I feel an invincible reluctance at speaking on the subject, though it daily mingles in my thoughts and feelings, and occasionally with the poignancy of renewed grief. At times, I feel a sorrow, a desolateness, a heart-sinking regret, of which I could have had no conception without this experience. She was indeed all my heart could wish, and more than I expected to realize in any human being."

From 1810 to 1815, Mr. White was a member of the Massachusetts Senate. In that day, for so young a man, this was a high political distinction ; but it seems to have had few

attractions in his view, except the prospect of serving the public. Indeed, in the beginning, there was one circumstance which made the appointment positively irksome: it drew him away from his family, when they stood most in need of his presence and care; and this apparently to but little purpose, as the government of the State had just passed into the hands of the Democratic party, leaving him in a helpless minority on all the great questions at issue. Party rancor was also then at the highest pitch,—worse even, in some respects, than if parties had been bounded by sectional or geographical lines. It was hostility between neighbor and neighbor; social, and, in some cases, family intercourse was broken up by it; differences flamed up into hatred; almost every considerable man in the country was denounced as “bought by British gold,” or as a “tool of French influence,” according as he belonged to one side or the other. It was the time of the Embargo and Non-intercourse, of the Gerrymander and John Henry, of “Madison’s War” and the Hartford Convention.

In those days, the newspaper reports of the debates in the Legislature, even on the most exciting topics, were meagre and unsatisfactory: often not so much as the names of the speakers are given. But we learn from other sources, that Mr. White was an active and influential member of the Senate. As a debater, he conducted himself, we are told, “with great dignity and parliamentary decorum; but when occasion called for it, and his adversary exposed himself by arrogance or inconsistency, or by blunders combined with both, his rebukes were worded with peculiar aptness, and sustained with great power and pungency:” * and when the State returned, as it soon did, to Federalism, the conspicuous place assigned him

* Willard’s “Memories of Youth and Manhood,” vol. ii. p. 111. Professor Willard was one of Judge White’s cotemporaries at college, and kept up his friendship and intimacy to the last.

on some of the most important committees shows that he was looked up to by his party as a prudent and safe leader. In February, 1814, he was chairman of a joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, to which were referred the memorials and remonstrances from a large number of towns in the Commonwealth, protesting against the course of the national administration, and recommending a Congress of Delegates "for the purpose of devising proper measures to procure the united efforts of the commercial States to procure such amendments and explanations of the Constitution as will secure them against future evils." The committee, in their report, insist on "the right, and think the Legislature ought to vindicate it, of acting in concert with other States, in order to produce a powerful, and, if possible, an irresistible claim for such alterations as will tend to preserve the Union and restore violated privileges; yet they consider that there are reasons which render it inexpedient, at the present moment, to exercise this power." But the popular uneasiness, occasioned by the unequal pressure of the hardships of the war, went on increasing; making it necessary for Governor Strong to convoke in October an extra session of the General Court. At this session, the scheme of concerted action, by means of a convention of delegates, now limited to New England, was revived and adopted; and the convention itself was soon afterwards held at Hartford, in Connecticut. Its proceedings were laid before the Massachusetts Legislature in January of the next year, and referred to a joint committee, Mr. White being again the chairman. In their report, they say, —

"The expediency of having invited a convention of delegates from the New-England States is fully proved by the result of their labors, communicated with his Excellency's message. The committee entertain a high sense of the wisdom and ability with which this convention have discharged their arduous trust; and while they maintain the principle of State sovereignty, and of the duties which citizens owe to their

respective State governments, they give the most satisfactory proofs of attachment to the Constitution of the United States and to the national Union."

Room will always be left for difference of opinion as to the wisdom and propriety of calling the Hartford Convention; but we owe it to the memory of the thoughtful and patriotic men whose names are connected with this step, to protest against the absurdity of construing it into a precedent of secession or rebellion. Their purpose was, not to excite the popular discontent,—for this existed already to an alarming degree,—but to temper and direct it. The professed object—and they have never been convicted of any other—was to effect certain reforms, as a means of saving the Union; and this, too, by a course strictly within the spirit and letter of the Federal Constitution. Mr. White was in correspondence with Mr. Webster during this critical period of the public affairs; and both concurred in the doctrine thus stated by the latter in a confidential note: "In truth, sir, I think you can do no more than the people compel you, and go no farther than they force you. Whatever is done should be done by the people." Many years afterwards, in an entry in his journal, made at the time of that great statesman's death, Judge White returns to this topic. As his testimony respecting the whole subject is full and decisive, we introduce it here:—

"I am sorry to see it stated in one of the Boston newspapers, that Mr. Webster, 'although classed as a Federalist, stood aloof from the famous Hartford Convention;' thus giving an impression that he was not a Federalist of the Hartford-Convention stamp: contrary to the truth, and what is due to him. I was induced, on seeing this, to look up some letters received from Mr. Webster in 1814, when I was in the Massachusetts Senate and taking an active part in the politics of the day. The greatest excitement then prevailed in Massachusetts, in consequence of the war, embargo, &c. Governor Strong, Mr. Otis, and others, with whom I cordially agreed, were intent upon devising some plan which might satisfy the people, without coming in conflict with the

General Government; indeed, without committing any act of nullification, as afterwards called. Governor Strong, the most experienced and sagacious among us at that time in the General Court, was the father of the Hartford Convention. I had many talks with him on the subject, and well remember the grounds on which he recommended such a convention. He said it was perfectly constitutional, and familiar to the people during our Revolutionary struggle; that it would serve to quiet the minds of the people, and prevent any illegal outbreak, while it afforded time for consideration of the best means of relief to the people from the intolerable burdens of which they so bitterly complained."

In November, 1814, Mr. White was elected representative in Congress by an almost unanimous vote of the people of his district. He was duly commissioned, and in the act of preparing to attend an expected extra session of the new Congress in the following spring, when the appointment of Judge of Probate for the County of Essex was offered him. The two offices being incompatible, he concluded, after some hesitation, to resign the former, and accept the latter. Many of his friends regarded this decision as a mistake: they held, that he sacrificed to an undue love of leisure and quiet the most flattering professional and political prospects. Looking at wealth and distinction alone, and from their point of view, they were probably right. But we must remember that public life, in itself considered, had no charms for him; and also that the cares and responsibilities of a lawyer in large practice were positively distasteful. A few days after having been admitted to the Bar, he had written to a young friend, "Last week I took the attorney's oaths, and was admitted into a profession, the chicanery and drudgery of which I abhor, and fear I always shall." Accordingly, we cannot wonder at his accepting a situation which was, beyond question, the most congenial to his nature and habits the law could afford. If his success, or the extent of his usefulness, was restricted thereby, the blame should be carried back to his long service

as tutor at college, where he acquired an invincible preference for a life among books, over one in the noisy and active world.

Still, though Mr. White was never fond of the business of a lawyer and advocate, and retired from the Bar before he was forty, he was under great obligations to the profession. It had brought him into notice; it had been sufficiently remunerative; it had trained his faculties to greater precision and vigor and practical efficiency; it had introduced him into the society and intimacy of some of the most eminent men in the Commonwealth. And as for its moral influences, he had found that these depend not so much on the profession itself as on the character of those who fill it; indeed, that the upright and Christian lawyer has peculiar opportunities and facilities for exposing the abuses of law, for dissuading and repressing a litigious spirit, and for becoming, in other ways, the wise friend, the judicious and kind neighbor.

In the early years of his residence in Newburyport, "Lord Timothy Dexter," so called, was one of the notabilities of the place. His Will is almost the only respectable thing recorded of him; making it more than probable, that for this we are indebted, in part at least, to Mr. White, who was his legal adviser, and drew it up. At any rate, the satisfaction the latter takes in finding something to approve in so absurd and vainglorious a life deserves mention, as highly characteristic. He thus writes to a friend:—

"Since my last, our 'greatest man in the East' has breathed his last, and left, perhaps, as good a moral as most great men who have preceded him. I always thought him, you know, a singular and curious modification of human nature; and, in this view, worthy of the contemplation of the metaphysician and philosopher. His mind and manners were original in their way, and the religious and philosophical opinions he avowed were a most ingenious burlesque upon the absurdities and inconsistencies of some of the brightest philosophizing of modern times. His most ludicrous display of riches, and the truly ridiculous light in

which it placed him, seem designed by Providence to exemplify the real value of wealth without virtue or talent; while the disposition of his property at death affords a lesson of humanity and wisdom to the greatest and best rich men among us. His Will is, I believe, the most generous and judicious ever known in this town. Beside a proper family arrangement of his estate, he has given two thousand dollars to his native town for the support of the gospel; as much more to this town for the support of the poor; a liberal legacy to a poor lame boy; with other benevolent legacies. This, I think, ought to consecrate his memory, and tinge with a blush the face of many a sordid son of Mammon, whose amusement is to laugh at Dexter's follies and images."

We may add, that Mr. White's professional reputation, and the confidence inspired thereby, extended beyond his own State. At the June session of the New-Hampshire Legislature, in 1815, he was appointed chairman of a committee, consisting of himself, the Hon. Nathaniel A. Haven of Portsmouth, and the Rev. Ephraim P. Bradford of New Boston, to inquire into the difficulties which had arisen between President Wheelock of Dartmouth College and its trustees. The committee met at Hanover in August; and, after the parties had been heard, a report was drawn up, giving a carefully prepared statement of the facts in the case, as far as they could be ascertained. It was printed, but never made the ground of legislative action. The State underwent, at this time, a political revolution; and the party coming into power, instead of trying to adjust the dispute which had grown up among the friends of the college, chose to turn it into an occasion for "amending," that is to say, invading, the college charter. The report is a document of importance to those who would understand the history of the famous "Dartmouth-College case" from the beginning.

Mr. White, after his appointment as Judge of Probate, continued to reside at Newburyport until Jan. 3, 1817. He then returned to Salem, where he passed the remainder of

his days. The Salem of forty or fifty years ago brings up to our recollections the names of Bowditch and Story and Pickering and Pickman and Silsbie and Saltonstall and Crowninshield, and a multitude of others hardly less worthy of note. The men who bore these names, and made them distinguished, were all living there at that time, and gave tone to society. Happily, also, the political dissensions, which had once embittered it more or less, were fast giving way to a new constitution of parties, which began with the return of peace. Under these circumstances, to one fond of books and quiet, and equally so of frequent intercourse with cultivated and refined persons of both sexes, there could hardly have been a more eligible place of residence.

To complete his happiness, he was married, Aug. 1, 1819, to Mrs. Eliza Wetmore, only daughter of William Orne, Esq., one of the eminent merchants of Salem. This lady brought a handsome accession to his fortune. She also brought personal qualities which made her to be universally respected and beloved, and which were especially fitted to secure and grace a refined, hospitable, and Christian home. He now closed his law-office, and took his books and papers to his house in Court Street, formerly the residence of his wife's father, where an apartment had been fitted up as a library to receive them. The house and library he continued to occupy to the last; but the marriage which led to these changes, and which promised so much happiness, was of brief duration. His second wife was, like his first, of a delicate constitution. The tender solicitude with which he watched over her health, and sought to lighten her cares, was of no avail. To his inexpressible grief, she died March 27, 1821, soon after having given birth to a son. The terms in which the newspapers of the day, in Boston as well as Salem, speak of this event, show that the early death of a person of so much modesty and worth, and of such active benevolence, was felt to be a public loss.

For some years previous to the resignation of Judge White's predecessor, it was generally expected that whoever should succeed him would find it to be his duty to introduce important changes in the mode of conducting the probate business of the county. Judge White accepted the office with this express understanding, and soon afterward began and carried into effect the necessary reforms; his object being "to render the new system of practice as simple as possible, consistently with the main design of securing a legal and correct course of proceedings, as well on the part of the court as of those who act under its authority." The principal changes consisted in requiring that important judicial acts, which had often been by parol only, should always be in writing, and matter of record; in a more scrupulous care, on the part of the judge, never to confer or advise with parties out of court, and not in the presence of each other, concerning matters subject to his judicial determination; and in ordering due notice to parties adversely interested, whenever it seemed to be required, either by statute provisions or by the general rules of law. To persons unacquainted with the law, and unable to appreciate the use and necessity of legal forms, the delays and expense thus occasioned were simply annoying. There is also reason to suspect that old political grudges had something to do with the discontent.

This state of feeling gave rise to a memorial, addressed to the House of Representatives at the summer session of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1821, representing that complaints had been made, by people having business in the Probate Court of the County of Essex, that the Judge allowed the Register to demand unauthorized fees; and that both Judge and Register refused to give applicants the usual and necessary information in the settlement of estates. The memorial was referred to a special committee, by whom an inquiry was instituted; in the course of which, such witnesses only were examined as were named by and in behalf of the

memorialists. The result of the inquiry, even in the one-sided and distorted view of an *ex-parte* hearing, was such as to induce the committee to recommend that no further action should be taken in the premises; and their report was accepted without a dissenting voice.*

Here ended these vexatious proceedings. But Judge White was determined that the world should know precisely what he had done, and his reasons for doing it. Accordingly, early in the following year, he published a pamphlet of one hundred and forty-eight pages, entitled "A View of the Jurisdiction and Proceedings of the Courts of Probate in Massachusetts, with Particular Reference to the County of Essex." The pamphlet begins with an historical sketch of the progress of probate law and jurisdiction from the first settlement of the country. Then follows a full account of the former practice of the Essex Probate Court, and of the changes he had introduced; every one of the latter being abundantly justified by citations from the statutes and judicial reports of the Commonwealth. The whole concludes with some observations on the course taken by the House of Representatives respecting the memorial. And here he does not object to the investigation: his complaint is, that the House forgot that it was an *ex-parte* investigation, and therefore not to be used at all, except as ground of proceeding against the accused by form of impeachment. They had a right to bring him to trial, where he would be heard in his own defence; but, declining to do this, they had no right to assume the truth of an *ex-parte* statement of facts, and to enter it upon their records as such, with the comments of the committee, partly favorable

* The only surviving member of this committee, Hon. James Savage, informs us that it was this investigation which led to a very important and beneficial change in the Probate Courts,—the substituting of "moderate but competent salaries" in the place of fees. He adds, "I suppose that the opinions of the complainants and witnesses to the charges against those Essex-County officers became unanimous in concurrence with the committee."

and partly unfavorable, on his alleged conduct. His own words are,—

“As the grand inquest of the Commonwealth, the power of the House of Representatives seems to be limited to making inquisition in the manner of a grand jury, and presenting, if they find sufficient cause, for a hearing and trial before the proper tribunal. If so, the power of exhibiting the facts resulting from any such inquisition, with their opinion upon them as a definitive verdict, must be wholly assumed; and, when exercised against those who have no opportunity for defence or justification, it may become alike unconstitutional and unjust.”

For several years, Judge White's household was presided over with singular judgment and grace by a niece, afterwards the wife of the Rev. Dr. Peabody of Springfield. This state of things continued until Jan. 22, 1824; when he was married to Mrs. Ruth Rogers, daughter of Joseph Hurd, Esq., of Charlestown, a successful and highly respected merchant.

Happy in his domestic relations; with abundant leisure for reading and study; interested in all the great questions of the day; troubled by no “hope to rise, or fear to fall,”—his life flowed tranquilly on; leaving little else to record but his opinions on passing events, and his efforts to promote what he conceived to be important public objects. Among the latter, Harvard College continued to hold the foremost place, especially its theological department. What, in his view, recommended the Divinity School at Cambridge, more than any thing else, was the fundamental principle of its constitution, which reads thus: “It being understood, that every encouragement be given to the serious, impartial, and unbiased investigation of Christian truth, and that no assent to the peculiarities of any denomination of Christians be required of the students or professors or instructors.” As far back as 1816, “A Society for the Promotion of Theological Education in Harvard College” was instituted, of which he was a

director. The object of this association was "to provide funds for assisting meritorious students in divinity, of limited means, to reside at Cambridge while preparing for the ministry." This society was reconstituted in 1824, with much larger scope and powers. Divinity Hall was erected under its auspices, and the general management of the affairs of the school was intrusted to it. In 1826, with the knowledge and consent of the corporation of the college, an act of incorporation was obtained, guaranteeing to the directors of the new society a legal existence, and a concurrent jurisdiction with the proper academic authorities in the administration of the school and its funds. But the corporation suddenly changed its policy, and refused assent to the act; thus rendering it null: whereupon the whole project was abandoned, and the property owned by the society was made over to the college. Judge White, who, as the only lawyer among the directors, had been chiefly relied on in drawing up the papers and forwarding the measure, was never reconciled to the course finally taken by the corporation. To the last, he maintained that this plan for the support and conduct of the school, after having been mutually agreed upon by both parties, ought to have been carried out. He also believed that it promised to be the best and most satisfactory adjustment of the difficulties growing out of the connection between the school and the college which has ever been suggested.

The old Revolutionary patriots were now rapidly passing away; and no one regretted the loss of their society and influence more than he. Writing to his brother-in-law, Samuel Orne, Esq., of Springfield, Feb. 2, 1829, he says, —

"Colonel Pickering's funeral was on Saturday; intended by the family to be as private as possible, agreeably to his well-known opinions on the subject. Still, a large concourse of our most respectable people assembled at the house, and followed his remains to the tomb, which is directly opposite the old Pickering Mansion, where he was born, and but a few rods from it. As I left the place, it was a soothing reflection,

that, after all his hazards and suffering and toil, he had returned at last to repose in peace with his fathers. He was one of the rare number, mentioned by Mr. Ames in his 'Eulogy on Washington,' 'who were born, and who acted through life as if they were born, not for themselves, but for their country and mankind.' He was more truly and more entirely devoted to the service of the public, to the neglect of private interests, and more ready to give his exertions to advance any good object or general interest, and more efficient in his labors for the purpose, than any man I ever knew. He was a true republican, in the best sense of the term, and a lover of liberty throughout the world, — as much opposed to the Holy Alliance as to Bonaparte, and as zealous for the poor Greeks as he always had been for the liberties of his own country."

About this time, lyceums were growing into favor. Associations under this name had been organized in some of the southern towns of Worcester County as early as the autumn of 1826, in imitation, doubtless, of the mechanics' institutes in England, which Lord Brougham and the Edinburgh Review had done so much to bring into notice. In 1829, they had made such progress in the Commonwealth, that a public meeting was held in Boston, consisting of members of the Legislature and other gentlemen, with a view to give form and system to the movement by means of state and county institutions. In a scheme like this, promising to become an effective instrument for the diffusion of useful knowledge among the people, Judge White could not fail to take a leading part. He was the first president of the Salem Lyceum, one of the largest and best conducted in the State; and also of the Essex-County Lyceum. Before the latter, at Ipswich, May 5, 1830, he delivered the introductory address; in which he explains the purpose of lyceums, answers the common objections, and endeavors to impress on the whole movement a practical and wise direction. Many persons were understood to fear, that a general diffusion of knowledge would unfit the laboring-classes for their proper work, or make them discontented with it. This objection, originating, consciously

or unconsciously, in an aristocratic spirit, and entirely out of place under a government like ours, is met by him with characteristic plainness of speech: "Upon the same principle, the slaveholder, in a land of liberty, would shut out from the mind of his slave every ray of light which might disclose to him higher duties than implicit submission to his earthly master. Thanks to our fathers, who have transmitted to us the blessings of freedom and knowledge, we live under institutions which recognize no distinctions but what our Creator has made, or enabled us to make for ourselves."

A pamphlet was published in 1832, entitled "Correspondence between the First Church and the Tabernacle Church in Salem; in which the Duties of Churches are discussed, and the rights of Conscience vindicated." This correspondence grew out of a refusal on the part of the Tabernacle Church to give the usual letter of dismission and recommendation to one of its members, who wished to become connected with the First Church; the principal reason assigned for the refusal being an alleged defection on the part of the latter from the great doctrines of Christianity. What was local and personal in the controversy is of little interest now, and may as well be forgotten; but there is one letter in the collection, written by Judge White, and filling one hundred and twenty-seven pages, which is of permanent value. It is an elaborate defence of Protestant and Congregational liberty, remarkable for the array of authorities, mostly Orthodox, by which every position is illustrated and confirmed. It is also important as a reflection of the writer's own mind and character. Judge White was a consistent Protestant Christian, if there ever was one. He asserted the right to interpret the Scriptures for himself, without the forfeiture of the Christian name or Christian privileges. And he did not stop there. He respected and vindicated this right in others,—not only in those who believe *more*, which is easy enough; but also in those who believe *less*, which is one of the hardest trials to which our

humility and sincerity are ever put. He spoke from the bottom of his heart when he said, —

“Strange, indeed, that Christians, whose very profession constitutes a bond of union, whose divine Master has taught them that their love to one another will be the test of their discipleship to him, and whose religion inculcates the spirit of love and charity as an indispensable qualification for heaven, should yet deliberately act from an opposite spirit, — judging, censuring, avoiding, and reviling one another; and this, too, on account of religious opinions which all have an equal right to form for themselves, and none the least authority to control in others! Strange to astonishment, indeed, that those should persist in this fatal error who glory in being reformed from it; that Protestants, in the full light and liberty of the gospel, avowing the equal right of all to free inquiry, private judgment, and honest profession, and, consequently, their own obligation to receive all as brethren who conscientiously manifest their Christian faith, should thus trample on the laws of brotherly love in the face of their own declared principles!”

There was something in Judge White's personal character, as well as in the nature of his friendships and intimacies, which seemed to mark him out as a fit person to speak of the dead. Even when an undergraduate, he was selected to pronounce a funeral discourse on his classmate Wellington, — a young man of much promise, who was drowned in Fresh Pond early in his senior year. While tutor, he was called upon to perform a like service on occasion of the death of Samuel Shapleigh, the librarian. Again: in the national mourning which followed the death of Washington, he delivered the eulogy before the people of his native town, at their earnest request. As he advanced in life, there were also other reasons for looking to him on such occasions; especially the terms of confidence and familiarity on which he had lived with many distinguished men of the past generation, even though greatly his seniors, and the extent to which he could avail himself of personal reminiscences. The consequence was, that for many years before his death, if a biography or commemorative discourse was to be written, he was

almost sure to be consulted. This is sometimes acknowledged by the publication of his letters, or extracts from them, in answer to such applications; as in the memoirs of Professor Frisbie;* and, at still greater length, in those of Professor Popkin, of Dr. Channing, and of Chief-Justice Parsons. Important and carefully prepared obituary notices from his pen were likewise given from time to time in the newspapers of the day, — mostly in the Salem Gazette.

When, therefore, Dr. Bowditch died, March 16, 1838, and the city of Salem resolved to notice the event by a public discourse on his life and character, the service was assigned, almost as a matter of course, to Judge White. The eulogy is an admirable one in all respects, and particularly for the force he gives to the example of that remarkable man by dwelling on his early struggles and triumphs. The description of the last interview on earth between the two friends is full of instruction: —

“It was my privilege to visit him the week before he died; and my mind irresistibly turns to the sublime and affecting scene, which will never fade from my memory. I found him seated in his library, more emaciated than I had ever seen any one before. The frame of his noble head, with his lofty forehead, never appeared in so striking a view; while his penetrating eye had all its wonted lustre, and his whole aspect was unearthly and sublimely impressive. His voice, though feeble, was clear and distinct; and his words flowed with their accustomed rapidity. Being deeply affected by his whole appearance and conversation, and absorbed in the feelings which these produced, I could not retain much of the language which he uttered, though the general impression of what he said is indelibly fixed in my mind. I recollect, however, his expressions in speaking of his early and deep sense of religious truth and accountability. ‘I cannot remember,’ he said, ‘when I had not this feeling, and when I did not act from it, or endeavor to. In my boyish days, when some of my companions, who had become

* The “Extract from a Letter to the Editor,” constituting a considerable part of the biographical notice prefixed to Professor Frisbie’s “Miscellaneous Writings,” and there given anonymously, was by him.

infected with Tom Paine's infidelity, broached his notions in conversation with me, I battled it with them stoutly, not exactly with the logic you would get from Locke, but with the logic I found *here* (pointing to his breast); and here it has always been, — my guide and support. It is my support still."

Harvard College had conferred on Judge White, in 1837, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. At the Commencement in 1844, he delivered the Address before the Alumni. It abounds in expressions of love and reverence for his Alma Mater, and of his solicitude for her moral safety and progress. While dwelling on the last-mentioned topic, he is led to say, "Let the next foundation laid here in aid of education be a *Professorship of the Philosophy of the Heart and the Moral Life*." These words attracted the attention of his friend, Miss Caroline Plummer; and the college is understood to be indebted to them for the foundation of the Plummer Professorship of Christian Morals.

Two years afterward, though then seventy, he consented to deliver the eulogy on his friend John Pickering before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Here again he dilates, some indeed may think disproportionately, on the early life and studies of the subject of the address; but it is that he may exhibit him "as the *model scholar*." He thus speaks of his own intimacy with Mr. Pickering, which began, as before stated, when they were law-students in the same office: —

"While he had been abroad, expanding his views of men as well as books, I had been confined to a didactic sphere within the walls of college. On emerging into the world, nothing could have been more welcome to me than such a companion. His society was alike instructive and delightful: it brightened the whole time I was with him, and made it one of the sunniest spots of my life. From that moment, I was for many years a close observer of him in public and in private; at the Bar, and among his friends; in his walks, and amid his studies; in the bosom of his family, and at my own fireside: and, to my view, his whole path of life was luminous with truth and goodness, — never ob-

secured, no, not for a moment, by the slightest shade of obliquity in him. To the eye of reflecting age, truth and goodness are every thing; mere genius and fame, nothing, — in the comparison, absolutely nothing."

Mr. Pickering's "genius and fame," however, are not forgotten. Brief notices are given of his numerous and valuable contributions to law and letters, and especially of what he did for classical literature and comparative philology, where he had few if any equals, and no superiors, in this country.

For the last forty years of Judge White's life, much of his time was passed among his books, of which he had a large and various collection. He had been a book-collector from an early period. This he takes occasion to regret, at times, in words like the following: —

"My enumeration of books, closed to-day, has impressed me afresh with the inexpediency of accumulating such a number. With me the desire to collect books arose from peculiar circumstances, and increased as it was gratified. The class of 1802, on leaving college, presented me with one hundred dollars' worth of books. The class of 1806, when I left as tutor in 1803, did the same. Habit has made the purchase of books a pleasure, and the distribution of them a greater pleasure than any other kind of donation. Several thousand volumes, I believe, have passed through my hands to others."

It is not unlikely, that, in one respect, he had a right to look on his library as an evil, or at least as a temptation. Its miscellaneous character, in which it is hard to say whether law, divinity, history, or classical literature, predominated, fostered a natural tendency to general and desultory reading. His journal shows, however, that he knew how to speak with great affection of his mute friends: —

"Alone this evening. Solitude, for a time, not unpleasant. Indeed, in the midst of my books, I feel, for the most part, 'never less alone than when alone.' Books are excellent company, and choice and familiar books are dear friends, and their company always sweet and delightful; at the same time, instructive and useful, — ready to impart any sort of information, to answer any inquiries, solve any doubts on

any subject in the whole range of literature, history, and science; full of curious learning, wit, and pleasantry; and freely communicating their rich stores of intelligence, without weariness or impatience, however importunately, or even impertinently, inquiries may be made of them. With such companions, one never need feel alone, and may well feel justified in prizing their society above any other. Yet few have more reason to bless God for their family and accustomed society than I have: those who have just left me alone will be most affectionately welcomed on their return."

No father ever bestowed more thought or care on the education of his children. As he was determined to leave no part of this duty undone, it is well that he entered upon it with the wise precaution, that there is also danger in *over-doing*. The spontaneous life, in its time and place, is as sacred as the reflective and moral life. Writing to a lady respecting his daughters, when they were quite young and under his sole care, he says, "My little girls are in fine health and spirits, and appear to have acquired nothing bad. My 'plans of education' have as yet scarcely extended beyond these objects: so you will perceive I need 'enlightening' on the subject." Even in respect to morals and religion, he holds that "excess of regulation and discipline is probably as pernicious as the opposite extreme of indulgence. Both are bad enough. Our aim should be, to pursue a middle course; allowing Nature free scope in unfolding and maturing all her generous feelings and principles, without indulging the growth of any bad ones; correcting what is wrong, and stimulating by kindness what is right; checking vicious, but cherishing virtuous propensities; preventing bad habits and unkindly associations, and promoting the reverse; giving, in fact, to our children the benefit of our superior wisdom and experience, without subjecting them to the perverting influence of our caprice, passions, or excessive fondness." On one point, however, he shows himself to be inflexibly of the old school. Thus, in another letter to the same correspond-

ent, he writes: "Your ideas of discipline in early education appear to me perfectly just; more so, indeed, than I had a right to expect. So much heresy on this subject prevails among some of the best people in the higher ranks, that I did not know whether you had wholly escaped it. But, if experience has settled any thing in education, it is the necessity of *implicit obedience*. This once established, the foundation of character, as you observe, may be considered as laid."

Yet this implicit obedience was not looked for as the result of physical or moral constraint. He did not think to govern his children *against* their will, but *through* their will. They grew up under the impression that what he required of them was not for his own ease or profit, nor yet for the order or credit of the family, but because it was right and for their good. The leading qualities of his mind and character, though not in other respects particularly attractive to the young, were of a nature to inspire confidence in an eminent degree as to the singleness and integrity of his aims; and this is what children, by a sort of instinct, are the first to see and appreciate. To his children, therefore, his authority was not so much an arbitrary will as an external conscience, which they were to obey spontaneously as a condition of freedom and safety.

Such a father, when his children left home for school, was not likely to feel that he had hired other persons to relieve him of his parental responsibilities. By frequent correspondence, and other acts of kindness and attention, he took care that the best influences of home should follow them wherever they went. His letters to his eldest son alone exceed six hundred. These letters are not, of course, for the public eye; but they abound in wisdom, in tenderness, in sympathy, without falling into the error, so common with anxious parents, of overdoing the matter of good advice. A single specimen will show how natural and real was the intercourse between father and son; in short, that there was mutual

respect as well as mutual love. The son had just joined his class at college.

“In the haste of your departure in the morning, I forgot to answer your question, ‘Who said he would not read the Scriptures, for fear of spoiling his style?’ Turning to Blackwall’s ‘Sacred Classics,’ I had found, before you left, that it was Cardinal Bembo, a Venetian nobleman, secretary of Pope Leo X., and made cardinal to reward his services to the Holy See, without much regard to his faith. But the reference by Blackwall proves only that Bembo advised a friend not to read St. Paul’s Epistles, if he loved elegance of style. This, too, was the remark of another as to what he said; not a quotation from Bembo himself. Altogether, it is but one instance out of a million of the growth of charges and errors from little or nothing, and their transmission from writer to writer, *crescentes eundo*, where there is a party or sectarian feeling to be gratified by it, or a taste for the marvellous to be indulged.

“I have also been struck by another sort of historical uncertainty, upon looking into several accounts of Alexandria, in consequence of Mr. Buckingham’s stating, in the lecture we heard together, that its principal street was a thousand feet wide; a statement which appeared to me incredible. The ‘Universal History’ had represented it to be a hundred feet. Gillies, in his ‘History of the World,’ states it to be a little over a hundred. But the ‘Encyclopædia Britannica’ and Rees’s ‘Cyclopædia,’ probably from Savary’s ‘Letters on Egypt,’ make it two thousand feet. What Savary’s authority was for such a vast *common of sand*, I cannot imagine, any more than I can Buckingham’s for his thousand feet, which I find nowhere else mentioned. Savary refers to ancient authorities generally, and particularly Strabo. If this author is accessible to you, I wish you would look over the seventeenth book, and see what he says of Alexandria, and especially of the width of the principal streets. Diodorus Siculus, as you will see in a passage from him in the ‘Greek Reader,’ states the width to be a hundred feet; a better authority, I should think, than Strabo, except when the latter speaks upon his own knowledge and observation.

“But enough of that. Mr. Young seemed to regard Mr. Buckingham as somewhat of a charlatan, or, at least, bent upon money-making by his lectures, and not always well informed on subjects where he is most confident. He mentioned a ludicrous instance of this ignorance

in his allusion to bricks he had *seen* in Egypt, — the walls of Zoan, — made ‘without straw,’ under Pharaoh’s cruel order to that effect; whereas the order was, that they should not be furnished with straw, but get it for themselves.”

We have referred more than once to Judge White’s diary, begun in early life, but kept for many years without much method or regularity. From January, 1841, he seems to have paid more attention to it; his daily entries becoming an important record of passing events, as well as of his own reading and thoughts. This portion of the journal opens thus: —

“New Year’s Day much as usual: all rejoicing with devout gratitude in the mercies of the past year to all the members of our family, to our friends, our city, and indeed the whole country; more especially in regard to the propitious political changes it has brought, and the brightening prospects for the future.”

The “brightening prospects” here mentioned were due to the recent election of General Harrison as President, so soon to be clouded over by his untimely death. Already a question, menacing the integrity of the Union, had begun seriously to trouble thoughtful minds. As far back as 1837, Judge White had written a letter to vindicate a neighboring clergyman against aspersions cast upon him for alleged proslavery leanings, in which he uses these words: —

“If the Immediate Abolitionists would study *practical* good, instead of raving and romancing upon theories of human liberty, they might at least be harmless in their movements. As it is, there is great danger that they will do much, by exciting the passions and fears of the South, to hasten the destruction of the Union; which, whenever it takes place, will be found to be the most awful political event that can happen. But I need not, perhaps, anticipate it. I pray it may not arrive in even your day: I have little fear that it will in mine. It ought not to be thought of for a moment, as a remedy for any public evils, by any American who lays claim to a spark of wisdom or patriotism.”

From this time, it is instructive to mark the influence which the overbearing and aggressive conduct of the South had on a mind strongly opposed, in the beginning, to anti-slavery agitation, and anxious that the compromises of the Constitution should be strictly maintained. One of the first outrages committed by the slave-power, which had the effect to open his eyes to its lawless and desperate character, was the treatment which his friend Mr. Hoar received at Charleston in 1844. We find in his diary the substance of a conversation which he had with Mr. Hoar soon after his return; from which we take the following:—

“I asked him if he had anticipated any such violent opposition as he had encountered in Charleston. He said, Not at all. He supposed he might have legal and technical difficulties thrown in the way of any suit he might bring to test the constitutionality of the South-Carolina law for imprisoning our free blacks, but thought not of personal abuse and outrage. He was, however, identified at once with our Abolitionists, and considered as coming to carry out their views. I asked, if they could not be made to understand that he came to settle, or attempt to settle, a question of abstract right, as respected our own citizens, without reference to their slaves. He replied, that one might as well reason with the tempests as with their excited passions; that the people and the Legislature inflamed each other as the cars passed to and fro between Charleston and the seat of government. He became the object of mob fury; and to save the city from disgrace, however little they might regard his life, the better sort took him and his daughter to the boat.”

In another entry, under date of March 7, 1850, we see him beginning to apprehend the whole extent of the evil:—

“Read a full-length report of Calhoun’s speech, in which he calls for an amendment of the Constitution to restore to the South its equilibrium in the Government. As if the South had not always had the *preponderance*. By thus requiring an impossibility as the means of *saving* the Union, he shows his desire to *lose* it; but he will find himself no nearer his wish by disclosing it in so barefaced a manner.”

After South Carolina had voted to secede, and only a few weeks before his own death, he thus wrote to a much-respected friend, the Rev. Dr. Sprague of Albany:—

“Trouble we may expect, — perhaps bloodshed ; but I cannot allow myself to doubt that a discreet and firm perseverance on the part of the National Government in enforcing the laws—just and constitutional laws — will prove effectual, and preserve the Union, and ultimately the peace and continued prosperity of the whole people. What an astounding fact it would be in history to all posterity, that the American Union and glorious Constitution of Government — the result of seven years of brave struggles, and as many more of anxious and wise deliberation ; a Government under which the nation has enjoyed unparalleled prosperity for more than seventy years, and the original number of States been increased threefold — should be broken up by a faction, without a single grievance to urge against the Government, or pretence of grievance ; but merely from the result of a fair constitutional election, and the *apprehension* of evil therefrom to the institution of slavery !”

In politics, Judge White began by being, as we have seen, a high-toned Federalist. After the dissolution of the old Federal party, he became a Whig, and continued faithful until that party was also very generally given up. At the time of his death, he was a Republican ; having voted for Fremont and Lincoln at the last two presidential elections.* He did not consider that these nominal changes involved a real change of principles. Whenever the conversation turned on the old issues, he was still a Federalist ; not bating one jot of his admiration of Hamilton, or of his antipathy to Jefferson. But old principles were now to be applied to new exigencies ; calling, as he conceived, for new combinations

* That he belonged to what is called “the conservative wing” of the Republican party, is evident from the following statement in his journal: “Bell and Everett would satisfy me, were not their election utterly hopeless.” And again: “— called for subscription to pay Brown’s counsel, &c. Decline, and express my utter reprobation of the motive and object of Brown in the Harper’s-Ferry affair ; tending, so far as we justify him, to place us in the wrong, and weaken our defence against the wrongs of the slave-power.”

and a new policy. In all this, however, he insisted, again and again, there was no inconsistency, no defection, no going over to the enemy. His sensitiveness and jealousy on this point are seen in what he says in his diary of Dr. Channing's "Memoirs:"—

"Delightful reading; confirming all my old, deep impressions of Dr. Channing's unsurpassed excellence of heart and life and character. The author, perhaps, has shown his uncle's union with the Abolition party in too prominent a light, and given an erroneous impression as to his change of political doctrines, or forsaking his early Federalism. This, as it seems to me, he never did; though, in the progress of the spirit of reform, he appeared to approach *true* Democracy,— which really was the spirit of the founders of the Federal Constitution and of Federalism,— against the anti-Federalists, who afterwards assumed the *name* of Democrats, and with whom Dr. Channing had no sympathy at any period of his life."

In religion, his mind, after being once made up, underwent as little change of any kind as it well could. He never forgot his obligations to Priestley for saving him, when he first turned his attention seriously to the subject, from scepticism. Priestley's writings did not make him a Materialist or a Necessitarian; but they convinced him of two things, in which he never afterwards wavered: in the first place, that Christianity, rightly understood, is entirely reasonable and credible; and, secondly, that there is satisfactory evidence of its supernatural origin and divine authority. Like Professor Norton, he built but little on what is called natural religion; that is to say, on men's unassisted reasonings or alleged intuitions respecting God and a future state. On these high themes, the speculations of philosophers did not seem to him to be worth much. They settled nothing. Accordingly, whatever he expected or hoped for in heavenly things was "through Christ." The interpretation of the message, as it has come down to us, should be as free as the air; but he did not see how its *authority* could be questioned without

destroying its chief value. With these views, he wrote, April 9, 1848:—

“To my surprise, Theodore Parker appeared in our pulpit, and preached all day. In the forenoon, from Revelation: ‘A voice from heaven, which said, Come up hither.’ In the afternoon, on prayer: quite a good discourse; better than the morning, which was quite characteristic, containing some sneering, some inconsistencies. Was sorry that Mr. Stone thought it proper to exchange with him; believing, as I do, that he rejects the *divine authority* of Christ: but I had no doubt that it was proper for me to hear him candidly, without sitting in judgment on him or Mr. Stone.”

The language here used by Judge White, in expressing his discontent, illustrates at once the strength and positive nature of his convictions, and the catholic temper in which they were held. After a careful and serious study of the Bible, not exceeded, perhaps, by that of any other layman in this country, he still adhered to Unitarianism, as the doctrine of the gospel, as the true meaning of God's word. He knew, however, that this was but one among several interpretations, all founded on the honest but fallible judgment of men, and all, therefore, standing, in this respect, on the same level. Hence he maintained, that a mere difference of interpretation ought not to exclude a man from the name and privileges of a Christian. But he could not be persuaded to put the question of *interpretation* and the question of *authority* on the same footing. Not that he was prepared to judge those even who denied the authority of the Christian revelation: they had as good a right to determine for themselves that question as any other. He merely thought such persons a little too exacting, when they demanded, not only to be allowed to hold and propagate their opinions, but also that the Church should afford them facilities for that purpose.

He was a Unitarian: still he preferred to be considered, in his character, as a liberal Christian. He would never allow that he was a sectarian in the common or bad sense of that

term. "The Bible, and the Bible only," was his creed; with the understanding that men would read it with different eyes. It was not for him to judge men's works by their faith, but their faith by their works. As for the fruits of the Christian faith, including a truly liberal and magnanimous spirit, he could see them in other denominations as well as in his own; and, wherever he saw them, he delighted to acknowledge them. The most that he claimed for Unitarianism, on the score of a true catholicism, was, that all its influences were in the right direction; that in itself it was essentially catholic. Of course, he did not deny that a Unitarian could be a bigot; but, if he were so, it must be from the narrow and despotic character of his own mind: he would look in vain for the shadow of a reason or apology for it in the principles he professed. It could not be said of him, what has so often been said of Christians of other persuasions, as mitigating the offence; namely, that they were bigots and exclusionists, and sometimes persecutors, as a matter of consistency, and for conscience' sake.

There is no topic to which he refers more frequently than to this. We give a single passage, selected the rather as it incidentally expresses his views on another subject concerning which he had thought much:—

"March 6, 1846. — Wrote to Henry. Spoke at some length touching Harvard-College *sectarianism*; agreeing with him that the term is not applicable to Christians of the most liberal sentiments, following *only* Christ as *Master*, and united by no *settled* tenets, but upon the principle that each one is to exercise his own judgment and conscience, without interference or restraint from others, in finding the truth from the Scriptures. The more closely they adhere to this foundation principle, the more steadfastly they follow it out, the more anti-sectarian they thus become, and the less subject to be called 'sectarian.' This they can be justly called only in the broad sense of Christian sect,—the sect of which Paul was, when it was 'everywhere spoken against.' But the Orthodox who complain of sectarianism in Harvard College find this a popular string to harp upon. What their object would be, if they had

the power, is manifest from what they have done at Andover. That institution, as the Rev. Dr. Woods stated in a late anniversary discourse, took its rise from the election of Dr. Ware as Hollis Professor in 1805; Samuel Abbot diverting, on account of that election, the large donation designed in his will for Cambridge to founding the institution at Andover. Had they got possession of Cambridge, would they not have wished to establish the same strict creed there which they did at Andover? Would not their consciences have worked alike in both places? The true distinction between these different classes of professing Christians is according to the spirit and principle actuating them, not according to *opinions* adopted; that is, into *liberal* and *exclusive*. The former, *bound* to no particular opinions, admits all professing Christians to its communion: the latter excludes all who cannot subscribe to their *particular opinions*, — to the creed, or formula of faith, devised by them, or adopted or inherited by them. One class is indeed liberal *on principle*; the other sectarian, perhaps on principle too, doubtless *in conscience*, — all the more alarming for this, should they get the power over a literary institution."

He was now beginning to feel the presence, if not the pressure, of old age. On the 7th of June of the last-mentioned year, he thus writes:—

"My seventieth birthday! — which excites most serious reflections, with most heartfelt thanksgiving for the mercies of God; unmerited, indeed, but sure and great at this moment. May my heart be full of gratitude, and my life (the small residue of it) better than ever before! May I not forget that I have no promise but of 'labor and sorrow' in the future, and be duly thankful and humble under whatever awaits me!"

The "labor and sorrow" to which he here refers were spared him to a remarkable degree. Nearly fifteen years of life and health were still in reserve for him, during much of which he was as active, and during all of which he was as happy and useful, as at any former period.

His seventh birthday from this time is thus noticed:—

"At seven o'clock, this 7th of June, I am seventy-seven! The figures almost frighten me; yet I feel not that they oppress me by

their number or the weight of years. Blessed be the merciful God, who has spared me so much strength, and capacity of thought and enjoyment! How mysterious is life, is thought, is being itself! The mystery is greater and greater to the thoughtful mind as we approach the great change, when, if ever, it may be solved. Faith in God and in Christ increases, however, while the subordinate differences of opinion are vanishing into nothing. I think I feel a greater nearness to God the older I grow, and the nearer I approach the solemn period when I must appear before him. Oh! may I rightly improve this growing consciousness of his presence, and be quickened in preparation to meet him, by fulfilling every duty; trusting in his providence and mercy, and seeking to follow Christ in all things!"

He had sent in his resignation as Judge of Probate a few weeks before; but it did not take effect until the following month. He had held the office thirty-eight years,—longer than any of his predecessors, and long enough to have most of the estates of the county pass under his supervision, and some of them several times. Few persons are aware how much the peace and comfort of families, and the rights of the most unprotected portion of the community, depend on a wise and humane administration of the probate-law. Often the applicants are in great anxiety and distress, ignorant alike of their just claims, and of the means of securing them; and watched, perhaps, by those who are willing to take advantage of their weakness and their mistakes. Under such circumstances, the personal fitness of the judge, and especially his sympathy for the weak and defenceless, and his jealousy of every thing that looks like a disposition to plot and overreach, are quite as necessary to the ends of justice as the law itself. Here it was, as well as in a thorough knowledge of his own department of law, that Judge White stood among the foremost. Hence the murmurs raised against him at the outset soon died away. The people became convinced that the reforms introduced into his court were for the public good; and he continued to preside there for more than a

whole generation, "not only," as we are told on high authority, "to entire acceptance, but in such manner as to attract a degree of veneration and affectionate confidence throughout the county." The following are his own reflections, suggested by a review of his official conduct:—

"July 1, 1853. — This day closes my probate career, and I feel satisfied that I have done well in so ordering it; for though I might have continued a little longer to do as well in the office as I have ever done, yet I might fail in capacity, without being sensible of it, and so make a more ignoble close. Blessed be God, who has enabled me to continue so long in the enjoyment of health and strength! In reviewing my official course, I have the comfort to think that I have *always endeavored to do right*. But I now regret that I did not regard, more than I have, the *manner* of doing it. I have no recollection of ever thinking of *manner* or *effect*; but went on naturally, as I felt, without thinking of putting on dignity, or commending myself to approbation."

Released from all official cares, he could now give himself more freely to such studies and thoughts as become and brighten the last days of a good man. We learn from incidental notices in his diary, that even when, through illness, unable to attend to any thing else, he seldom allowed a day to pass without reading his chapter or two in the Greek New Testament. There is also among his papers a new translation of the Epistle to the Romans, written out by him with great care. The manuscript is of uncertain date. It evidently belongs to his advanced life; and shows, if nothing more, how earnest and faithful he was in searching the Scriptures. Nor did he shut himself up in his library. His friends were never more welcome, never more in his mind and heart. He also kept up his interest in public objects and events, and in all new literary and scientific questions; and, being a member of the principal literary and philanthropic societies in Salem and Boston, he still continued to attend their meetings, often taking an active part. Least of all did he allow his zeal in behalf of the college to be chilled by age. He was one of

the overseers from 1842, until displaced by the new organization of the Board in 1853; and afterwards served on one of the most important of the visiting committees until his death. Indeed, it was by exposure and fatigue, occasioned by a too faithful discharge of his duty in the last-mentioned capacity, that his death is supposed to have been hastened.

In giving an account of one of his visits to the university, he says, "What pleased me at the examination public dinner yesterday was the total absence of all beverage but cold water; it being the first time I ever witnessed such a spectacle on any occasion of the kind at Cambridge." At another time: "Yesterday, at the exhibition-dinner, I sat next to Mr. Abbott Lawrence. He told me, that, when minister at London, he was near neighbor to Lord Wellington, who was very kind to him. His lordship lived very simply; had long since given up wine, and never used tobacco in any of its forms."

The diary abounds in statements and anecdotes to the same effect, showing how entirely he sympathized with some of the reformatory movements of the day; and this sympathy grew stronger as he advanced in years. His temperament was not that of an agitator; neither would his just and fair mind allow him to impose his conscience upon others. Still, so far as his own opinion and practice went, he became more and more decided that *total abstinence* was the true doctrine in respect to tobacco and intoxicating drinks. He could not make the former to be as dangerous, in a moral point of view, as the latter; but, under other aspects, it was even more inexcusable and offensive, and therefore incurred, perhaps, his sharpest rebukes. In one instance, he speaks of writing a letter, filling two sheets, in order to encourage and animate some new converts. At another time, half in despair, he thus bemoans the obstacles:—

"But what can a feeble individual do to suppress an evil so deep-rooted, so wide-spread, so fascinating among all classes of society,

clergy as well as laity, who will turn with contempt and ridicule from any single-handed opposition, even of the highest station; as was the case when King James blew his 'Counterblast'? Such an evil requires a union of the most influential in society, and the talents of the most gifted for argument, satire, ridicule, and sarcasm, to be exerted, without cessation and without mercy, for successive generations."

With so strong a disposition to be useful while living, it was natural that he should wish to continue to be so after death,—an event which could not be far off. He had not large possessions to bestow; but he could do something to cause himself to be remembered in the places where he had lived, as a friend to popular instruction, and as a believer in the power of Christian principles and in the worth of Christian character.

His father's farm in Methuen, on which he was brought up, now makes, as before intimated, a central part of the manufacturing city of Lawrence. Of this farm, a reserved lot of about six acres was still held by him; subject, however, to the restriction, that it could not be built upon without the consent of the Essex Company,—the projectors of the new city. In this state of things, he submitted to the company a proposal, that this restriction should be taken off, and the land be conveyed to trustees, who should dispose of the same, and use the proceeds of the sales as a fund for the support of public lectures and a public library. The proposal was readily acceded to. In the deed of gift, bearing date Aug. 23, 1852, he makes the consideration to be, "his having at heart the welfare of his native place, and earnestly desiring to do something to promote the improvement and prosperity of its now numerous population." He also instructs the trustees "to have special reference to the wants of the young and of the industrial classes;" and "constantly to bear in mind, that the great object intended to be promoted and accomplished is the education and training-up of the young in habits of industry, morality, and piety, and in the exercise of true Christian

principles, both in thought and action." The trustees have already realized, from sales and accumulations, about ten thousand dollars, with full one-half the land still unsold.

In the same spirit, and with the same general purpose, Judge White took an active part in founding and building up the Essex Institute in Salem. The institute was formed in 1848 by the union of the Essex Historical and the Essex-County Natural-History Societies; the former organized in 1821, the latter in 1833. He had been a liberal patron of the old societies. Under the new organization, he was elected the first president, and unanimously re-elected to this office every year until his death. What did more than any thing else to interest him in the institute was its promise to be largely instrumental in diffusing useful knowledge among the people by means of lectures, discussions, scientific excursions, and a public library,—his favorite mode of doing good. To its library he became a munificent benefactor, transferring to its shelves the chief part of his own collection; his donations, in his lifetime and by will, amounting to over eight thousand volumes, and about ten thousand pamphlets.

He did not lay down his pen until the last; neither do his writings, even after he was eighty, betray the slightest falling-off in clearness and vigor. A letter from him, in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 20, 1858, written when he was nearly eighty-two, reminds us of his best manner in his best days. The same remark applies to "A Brief Memoir of the Plummer Family," published the same year; and also to his "New-England Congregationalism in its Origin and Purity," which came from the press during his last sickness, and only a few days before he died.

Of this last work, the most considerable that he gave to the public, it will be proper to say a few words. It contains, in the first place, a full statement of the documentary evidence respecting the oldest extant covenant of the First Church in Salem; and, secondly, a copy of the records of this church

down to 1736, so far as they are of public interest or will help to illustrate its original constitution. Then follow three discussions: the first being a republication, with slight abridgments, of a letter already referred to as making part of the "Correspondence between the First Church and the Tabernacle Church in Salem, in which the Duties of Churches are discussed, and the Rights of Conscience vindicated;" the second contains the substance of a controversy between Judge White and the Rev. Dr. S. M. Worcester, which originally appeared in the Salem Gazette of 1854, having been suggested by Dr. Worcester's repeated averment, "that what has generally been printed for a hundred and fifty years, as the First Covenant of the First Church, *was not that covenant*;" and the third, Judge White's re-assertion of the claims of the covenant renewed in 1636 to be considered "the Confession of Faith and Covenant" adopted at the foundation of the church, with strictures on certain statements in Mr. Felt's "Ecclesiastical History of New England," and in the new edition of Morton's "Memorial," touching this subject. The appendix contains a reprint of notices of the First Church in Salem and its ministers, from 1629 to 1853, prepared by Judge White some years before, and first published as an appendix to the sermon preached at the ordination of its present pastor, the Rev. Dr. Briggs.

It will be seen at once, that the volume just described is, for the most part, a compilation: still it was a work of much care and labor. On some accounts, we cannot help regretting that the last months of Judge White's life should have been occupied, and perhaps wearied, by it. His motive, however, was most honorable, and felt by him to be imperative; namely, to vindicate what he believed to be the truth of history, and one of the noblest distinctions of the founders of his own church and of New-England Congregationalism. Whatever may be thought of some of the side-issues, we consider the main position abundantly established. In our opinion, he has accu-

mulated proof upon proof, that what has passed for more than two centuries as the First Covenant of the First Church in Salem is really that covenant; that it is the "instrument" sometimes called "a covenant," sometimes "a confession of faith," and sometimes "a confession of faith and covenant," which Higginson drew up "in Scripture language" for the constitution of the church "at their first beginning," *and the whole of it*. From this it follows, that the New-England Congregational churches, "in their origin and purity," were not founded on a *test creed*. In saying this, we do not mean that our Puritan ancestors were not Calvinists, or that they did not insist on Calvinism, but only that they forbore to organize it into the very constitution of their churches. They were probably hindered from taking such a step by their earnest and consistent Protestantism, and by their belief—a belief in which they had been instructed and confirmed by Robinson—in "the progress of Protestantism." That they soon relapsed into the ways of other churches, is but too well known; but this only affords another illustration, if another was wanted, to show how apt all sects are to disappoint their early promise, and fall from consistency. We must not withhold Judge White's own account of the spirit with which he engaged in this polemic, as given in a letter to his eldest son:—

"I expect no reward for my labor, and few thanks; but I shall feel better satisfied with myself if I can accomplish the drudgery before I am called away from it. True religious freedom has been dear to my imagination from earliest recollection of my father's talk about it. I think this freedom of far higher importance than any *doctrinal* opinion. What I wish is, that all now should receive their religion as freely and directly from Christ and his apostles, without human interposition, as did the first believers."

The frequent passing-away of the few that remained of his classmates and contemporaries had made him familiar with the thought of death. The loss of his daughter Mary, Mrs. Foote, — who died Dec. 24, 1857, in the midst of life and

usefulness,—was also a great affliction. She alone, of all his children, continued to reside in Salem; and, by her almost daily presence, was still the light of his house. But, in his deepest sorrow, he had the hope “which entereth into that within the veil.” To him, the dead were not dead. “It is with me,” he writes to one of the family, “as you say it is with you, in regard to Mary. I see her almost constantly, and always in some pleasant attitude or conversation, just as she appeared in her happiest moments,—when entering the room with her cheering smile, or seated on the sofa gladdening her mother, or at the table delighting us all. Most of all comes to me the look with which she turned to me on Thanksgiving Day (the last time I sat at table with her), and said that we had passed every Thanksgiving together, but one, since her earliest recollection. I see her, too, by my sick bedside,—a comforting angel, as she was. She will always be be such, in spirit, to me; yet I sadly feel the loss of her presence in the body. May we all feel devoutly thankful for the rich blessing she has been to us for so many years!”

At length, his own time had come. On the 2d of January, 1861, he attended the annual meeting of the Committee of Examination for the Divinity School at Cambridge. He took all his usual interest in the occasion: he also made several visits, walking from place to place, and then returned home; “feeling,” to use his own expression, “that, of all comforts, *rest* was the sweetest.” He had overtaken his remaining strength, and never recovered from the fatigue. For several weeks, he was still able to read and write, and go out occasionally. He was, however, among the first to see that his end was near. The prospect had no effect upon him, except to make his manner more gentle and tender and cheerful. All the arrangements necessary to the final disposition of his worldly affairs were attended to without hurry and without delay. It was after he had relieved his mind, for the most part, of such cares, about a fortnight before his death, that

some one said to him, "How happy you look in your easy chair!"—"Well," he replied, "I am happy: I feel perfectly reconciled to the ways of Providence." A few days afterwards, he said to his wife, "I have felt for some years past a more intimate communication with the spirit of God; a feeling of the Divine Presence, which seemed to be a shield, a security. I have always shrunk from speaking of my deepest feelings: none know of the intensity of my affections for the living and the dead." On Monday, March 25, his daughter read to him the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, containing the parable of the lord who forgave his servant the debt. He was, as usual, much moved in listening to it. His daughter said, "This was always a favorite portion of Scripture with you, as I remember;" adding, after a pause, "And this is the spirit which you have always manifested all your life." He shook his head, and, gathering up his strength, spoke with unusual distinctness and fervor, as follows: "No man ever in the hour of death relied less upon any good acts performed than I do at this moment, and have done for many years. My reliance is upon the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, and my own repentance for sin, which I *know* I have felt for years; and therefore I have perfect trust and peace."

The death-bed of an intelligent, thoughtful, and sincere Christian—neither afraid to consider his situation, nor too much agitated by it—is always instructive and sublime. Such was that of the subject of this Memoir. He was in his usual dress, and able to see other friends besides the family, up to the last day of his life; and, indeed, never seemed more happy in seeing them. Even on the last day (Saturday, March 30), he wished to rise and dress as before; and would have attempted it, but for the advice of the physician against it; to which he yielded, with the same gentle submission he had manifested throughout his illness. Early in the morning, he had been more than usually affected by the family devotions in the sick-chamber. Some time afterwards, he dictated a

message to his son Henry, absent in the West. Being asked when it should be sent, he answered, "When all is over." As a grateful breath of air reached him, he observed, "Now there is nothing more but to catch the breezes as they pass." "To be wafted on," some one said. "Yes," he replied. About noon, his son said to him, "Father, here we are all round you: we shall go up with you to this side of the river; and there are other friends waiting to receive you on the other side." He shook his head. "We know nothing about that: we know of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ. We are assured of a spiritual creation; but in what it consists, we are not told." Soon after, his daughter asked, "Father, do you see me?" He started with surprise at the question, and replied, "See you?—of course I do; but it is quite another question whether I am to see you in another world;" and then added, with fervor, "All will be right; all will be right." So careful was he, in his beloved pastor's words, "to go down to the absolute grounds of trust."

At one o'clock, a change came over him, affecting his utterance, which he did not understand. Dr. Mack, who was in attendance, told him it was the effect of a slight paralysis; and added, "You will soon be resting, sir."—"There is but one way," he replied. At a quarter-past one, Mr. Foote, his son-in-law, came in, and informed him that his friend Judge Shaw had died that morning. Startled by the announcement, he looked up inquiringly, and said, "Chief-Justice Shaw?" On being told that it was, all his calmness returned, as he said, "It is a good time." A grand-daughter, who was present, repeated Mr. Norton's hymn, beginning, "My God, I thank thee." When she had ended, he spoke again, though with some difficulty: "That hymn has been on my tongue innumerable times;" and then himself repeated the second stanza,—

"Thy mercy bids all nature bloom;
The sun shines bright, and man is gay:
Thine equal mercy spreads the gloom
That darkens o'er his little day;"—

going back, and repeating a second time, with emphasis, "*Thine equal mercy.*" These were his last words, except to ask for water, which he drank from a glass, holding it in his own hand; and soon afterwards quietly passed away, twenty-three minutes before two o'clock. Nothing could exceed the perfect serenity of his mind to the last. A tranquil smile remained on his countenance several hours after the spirit had returned to God who gave it.

The following letter of condolence, received a few days after the funeral, was very grateful to the family, and will be read with profound respect by all:—

"Mrs. R. H. WHITE.

"DEAR MADAM,— Permit me to trespass thus early on your afflictions: I cannot refrain from yielding to the impulses of my heart. Your late husband, as you well know, was among the earliest, dearest, most truly valued and beloved, of all my friends. Our acquaintance commenced late in the last century, and our regard for each other was unabated and strengthened and deepened to the hour of his death. The consciousness of his friendship, of its truth, of its warmth, of its unceasing constancy, has been one of the choicest gratifications of my life; and the memory of them will be a precious support and consolation during the few years I may be permitted to survive him. It is not for me to attempt to enlarge upon his virtues. The circle in which he was beloved and honored embraced all who had the privilege of being acquainted with him; for his heart was as capacious as it was all-attractive and pure. The public which he faithfully served, the college which he honored and loved, the multitude of his friends in almost every class of life, will not permit his remembrance to pass away without tributes to his worth and his virtues, as full and truthful as they will be well deserved.

"My grief is, in a feeble and humble degree, like your own. He was not, indeed, the companion of my life; but for sixty years he has been an inmate in my heart. I would willingly shed tears; but why, and for what? A well-spent, useful, and universally honored life has closed. It has descended like an autumn sun, the brightness of his meridian hour undiminished; still radiant in its descent on the horizon.

— glowing with hope in respect to the world into which he was entering; and leaving no just cause of regret, but rather a melancholy, soul-supporting joy in the bosom of friends in the world from which he was departing. What can we desire more? what better?

“Your husband had that faith which ‘is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen;’ which is true in philosophy as well as in religion. Such faith is the substantial support of the mind in that hour which all of us are doomed to meet. Happy he, who, like your husband, can depart calm, content, and resigned, having nothing to fear, and every thing to hope! He had been permitted a length of existence sufficient for all the purposes of life. He had acted his part well, faithfully, and, to human sense, acceptably. He died with the consciousness of it; and this supported him in the moment the soul departed. Who can regret such a separation, or wish its former union renewed? He has gone to join the company of the good, the virtuous, and the wise, who were once his companions in life; and, I trust and believe, of many whom he had only known by report, who lived and died, like him, in the enjoyment and consciousness of useful, happy, and honored life, though they were not his contemporaries. This is a faith all ought to cultivate: it is ever and all supporting, even if (which Heaven forbid!) it should prove illusive.

“Pardon, madam, this trespass upon your time and your thoughts; but I have given my heart to my pen, and will not withhold that to which it gives utterance.

“With truest respect, I am your friend and servant,

“JOSIAH QUINCY.

“BOSTON, 6th April, 1861.”

Judge White was born on the very day of the motion of Richard Henry Lee, in the American Congress, to declare the United Colonies independent; and died just before the attack on Fort Sumpter. His life may therefore be said to have covered the whole of our proper unchallenged national existence. His principles and habits were also, in a remarkable degree, the product of our institutions, and of our institutions in their best days. In his tastes and manners and acquisitions, he was a genuine New-England man: there was nothing foreign or exotic about him. And this was not all. From childhood, he had entertained a high, perhaps even an extra-

vagant, conception of the character of the first settlers of Massachusetts: he had idealized this character, and made it, thus idealized, his model. Even in religion, he always believed himself the heir of their principles, if not of their opinions; of their method, if not of its results. Like them, a Protestant among Protestants, continually appealing from "traditions" to "the law and the testimony," he claimed the right to be numbered, not only among their warmest admirers, but also among their most faithful and consistent followers. Whether right or not, he felt the utmost confidence that he stood where they would have stood, if living now. Internally and externally, his character was of the Puritan type; so much so, that to many of the present generation, who had only known him as an old man, he might almost seem like one of the Pilgrim Fathers living down into our times, — in manner and expression, softened and modified; in principle and substance, the same.

The Puritan cast of his mind was seen even in its defects. His nature was neither artistic nor imaginative. He made no pretensions to brilliant or fascinating qualities, either as a writer or speaker. There was also an apparent coldness and constraint in his outward manner, as it struck the common observer, which did not invite familiarity; and his way of maintaining what he believed to be true or right, however unpopular, was too persistent and too incisive for a so-called "man of the people." He could not have been a demagogue if he had tried. Still, had he continued in public life, there can be no reasonable doubt, as before stated, that he would have gained high place and exerted large influence. If incapable of the showy and facile arts of the mere politician, he had nevertheless, in a remarkable degree, those qualities of head and heart which command public confidence. Everybody knew where he was to be found. Everybody knew that he could not be coaxed and wheedled out of his principles; that he could neither be intimidated nor bought;

that he had no crotchets by which great public interests would be supplanted; and still more, that, in a sound understanding and an unspotted life, he gave the best possible guaranty that any trusts, however sacred, would be safe in his hands.

But, after all, the distinguishing trait of Judge White's character was what would hardly have been expected from his habitual caution and gravity, and the strongly ethical bias of his theology. We refer to the abounding affectionateness of his nature. His heart was singularly impressible, and predisposed him to look on the favorable side of men and things. This appears in his fondness for society when a young man, — a fondness almost amounting to a passion. One of the most beloved and honored of his classmates writes, that he was "the most genial of them all." We should have inferred as much from the manner in which he frequently speaks of college-clubs; ascribing to them an interest and importance which must surprise many who know what they were and are. It appears more clearly still in the multitude of his friendships, seldom intermitted except by death; in his family affections, embracing his remotest ancestors and kindred; and even in his attachments to particular communities and particular spots. His loyalty is also to be explained in the same way, — a loyalty which made him as sensitive and jealous for the national honor as for his own. With him, love of country was not a figure of speech: it was a real love, like the love for a common mother; so much so, that when told of the great Rebellion, the beginnings of which darkened his last days, what affected him most was the strangeness, the cruelty, the unnaturalness of the crime.* Even his religion,

* Had Judge White lived to witness the progress of the Rebellion, there is nothing which would have given him so much heartfelt satisfaction as the loyal and brave conduct of his grandchildren. Four of them, sons of William Dwight, Esq., were among the earliest to enter the army; and have gained distinction for gallant service.

probably to a degree beyond what he himself suspected, was the cry of his heart. He was educated among Calvinists of the strictest sect, who were not likely to hold human affections in high regard; neither did he gain much, in this respect, by going over from Calvin to Priestley. All that his theology taught him was "repentance and pardon:" his own heart unconsciously made up the rest. He talked of duty; his life was love.

What he was in his own house, and to those who witnessed his daily walk, we shall leave to be told by one who has a right to speak on this subject.

"KEENE, N.H., July 23, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR,— You have encouraged me to feel that a few hints of my own reminiscences and impressions regarding my father might not be unacceptable to you in connection with the Memoir of his life which you are now preparing.

"How well I recall an incident occurring when I could not have been more than six years old!—an incident which was fruitful, in later years, of more suggestions than many a long talk could have been. It was near evening as my father drove into the yard at home, after an absence of several days. I sprang to the door, exclaiming, 'What have you brought, father? what have you brought for me?'—'I have brought myself,' he said, as he threw open his arms to hold me.

"While careful of the respect due to his authority, I cannot imagine, at the same time, a parent more ready to spend and be spent for his children. Even to the tying of a package, how unwearied he was, up to the time of his last sickness, in so anticipating our wants, as to make us feel that there was hardly the smallest thing that we could do for him! But, after the approach of that illness, how he seemed to rejoice, feeble though he was, in seeing his family around him! It was an abounding consolation for that season of confinement, that we really had at last the opportunity of doing something for him. When he was

Colonel Wilder Dwight, whose opening prospects of eminence in the law his grandfather had contemplated with a just pride, fell at the battle of Antietam. Of the many young and valuable lives which have been nobly offered up in this struggle, none has been felt to be a greater public or private loss.

well, it often seemed, warm as his greeting was, that, with his books and customary avocations, he was more independent of children and friends than many people are; but, in his last days, he seemed to hunger for the faces of 'his own flesh.'

"As regarded any thing like theological training, the listening to the parables of Jesus, as he read them, followed, morning after morning, by his own fervent prayer, are all that I can remember on his part. I heard a disputation 'in the market-place' once, in which he joined issue with a farmer upon the interpretation of the text, 'I and my Father are one;' and I believe that this was my first glimpse into the deep questions of the Bible. Nothing at home was ever said to jar with 'the simplicity that is in Christ.' We children were left wholly to the Bible; and how much would my father have given, could all Christendom have been left wholly to that, without the intervention of any creeds of men's device!

"The pains he took with us, when away from his sight, may appear, when I state, that the number of his letters to myself alone reached the sum of six hundred. Criticisms upon the character of people in private life he sedulously discouraged on our part, both by precept and example. His spirit we can remember as being roused to vehemence as he engaged in discussion; but it was in defence of what, with him, was principle.

"As he walked the streets, a stranger might have thought that here possibly was a man who stood upon his dignity; but the next moment he might be seen stooping to kiss some little child, or gambolling with some neighbor's boy as he met him in the first November's snowfall, tossing him upon his back, scattering the feathery flakes over him, and bidding him 'go to sleep.'

"Through his life, he loved to trace back the lineage of his pious ancestry. It is now a pleasant thought, that, during the last few days of his life, his mind was refreshed with the long-silent words of the friends of his boyhood and youth, as their letters (deposited in the same box in which, nearly sixty years before, he had found and kept the papers of his lamented college chum) were read aloud at his request.

"When, at last, that aged form was wrapped in the habiliments of death, it seemed as if it were the face of some serene and majestic apostle upon which I gazed. The seal of his ministry seemed to have been set upon him. How truly had it been a ministry!—that loving service to his own household, to the community, to institutions of learning, to the church of Christ; nay, to the spirits of the just, whose

earthly record he gave his latest breath to clear from what he regarded as the unwarrantable aspersions of less catholic minds in our own day.

"Even now, it is a joy to feel that I have never seen the minister nor the man, in any denomination, who bore more evident traces of the 'hidden walk with God' than he. I can recall nothing which dims this image of an upright, pure, consecrated believer.

"He never said a word which suggested the idea to me that he expected anybody would write a Memoir of him; but the peculiar gratification which he always derived from his fellowship with the Massachusetts Historical Society, makes it to his family a soothing reflection, that these brethren have seen fit to pay his memory this honor, and that they have assigned it to one who so warmly shared his affection and confidence.

"I am, my dear sir, with sincere and affectionate respect, most truly yours,

"WILLIAM O. WHITE.

"REV. JAMES WALKER, D.D., Cambridge, Mass."

A List of Judge White's Publications.

1. A Eulogy on George Washington, who died at Mount Vernon, Dec. 14, 1799. Delivered, at the Request of the Inhabitants of Methuen, in the Meeting-house of the First Parish in that Town. Haverhill, 1800. 8vo, pp. 18.

2. An Address to the Members of the Merrimack Humane Society, at their Anniversary Meeting in Newburyport, Sept. 3, 1805. Newburyport, 1805. 8vo, pp. 38.

3. A View of the Jurisdiction and Proceedings of the Court of Probate in Massachusetts, with particular Reference to the County of Essex. Salem, 1822. 8vo, pp. 158.

4. A Statement of Facts relating to the Claim of Major Moses White upon the United States, as Executor of the late General Moses Hazen; including some Consideration of its Merits, and an Exposition of the Report of a Committee on this Subject, made 28th February, 1820. Salem, 1827. 8vo, pp. 15.

5. An Address delivered at Ipswich before the Essex-County Lyceum, at their First Annual Meeting, May 5, 1830. Salem, 1830. 8vo, pp. 60.

6. Correspondence between the First Church and the Tabernacle Church in Salem; in which the Duties of Churches are discussed, and the Rights of Conscience vindicated. Salem, 1832. 8vo, pp. 176.

7. An Eulogy on the Life and Character of Nathaniel Bowditch, LL.D., F.R.S. Delivered, at the request of the Corporation of the City of Salem, May 24, 1838. Salem, 1838. 8vo, pp. 72.

8. An Address delivered at the Consecration of the Harmony-Grove Cemetery, in Salem, June 14, 1840. With an Appendix. Salem, 1840. 8vo, pp. 51.

9. An Address delivered before the Society of the Alumni of Harvard University, on their Anniversary, Aug. 27, 1844. Cambridge, 1844. 8vo, pp. 42.

10. Eulogy on John Pickering, LL.D., President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Delivered before the Academy, Oct. 28, 1846. Cambridge, 1847. 8vo, pp. 106.

11. Notices of the First Church in Salem and its Ministers, 1629 to 1853. By a Member. Salem, 1853. 8vo, pp. 30.

12. A Brief Sketch of a Lecture delivered before the Essex Institute, May 12, 1856, respecting the Founders of Salem and the First Church. Salem, 1856. 8vo, pp. 14.

13. A Brief Memoir of the Plummer Family; with Historical Notices relative to the Gift of Plummer Hall. Salem, 1858. 8vo, pp. 36.

14. New-England Congregationalism, in its Origin and Purity; illustrated by the Foundation and Early Records of the First Church in Salem, and various Discussions pertaining to the Subject. Salem, 1861. 8vo, pp. 319.

OCTOBER MEETING.

The Society held its stated monthly meeting this day, Thursday, Oct. 9, at twelve o'clock, M. In the absence of the President, Dr. JARED SPARKS (one of the Vice-Presidents) occupied the chair.

Donations were announced from the Regents of the University of the State of New York; the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; the Corporation of Yale College; the publishers of the Albany "Evening Journal;" Rev. Caleb D. Bradlee; William Durrant Cooper, Esq.; Charles Cowley, Esq.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; John Morissey, Esq.; Mr. Sidney S. Rider; Mr. Moses H. Sargent; Rev. Increase N. Tarbox; Mr. S. Urbino; and from Messrs. Deane, Felt, Quint, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Recording Secretary read a communication, addressed to the Standing Committee by Dr. Appleton, the Assistant Librarian, announcing the discovery, that an old portrait in the Society's gallery, hitherto classed among the "unknown," was that of King William III. The communication also referred to the bad condition of the portrait, and suggested that a correct catalogue of the pictures in the cabinet should be prepared for the use of members and visitors.

To the Standing Committee of the Mass. Historical Society.

I expressed the opinion some time since, that an old portrait in the cabinet of the Society, which has been classed among the "unknown," was that of King William III.; found-

ing my opinion on its resemblance to the published portraits of that monarch.

I have lately had an opportunity of examining a portrait of King William, considered an original, which, together with that of his queen (Mary), formerly belonged to Samuel Sewall, jun., Esq.; and probably to his father-in-law, Governor Joseph Dudley, of Roxbury. These portraits are now in the possession of the family of the late Hon. Moses Newell, of West Newbury. The resemblance of the two portraits of the king to each other is remarkable; and I think there can no longer be any doubt, that the painting belonging to the Society is the true effigies of William of Nassau.

The portrait is in bad condition, and stands in need of careful restoration by a competent hand, to rescue it from the destruction which must otherwise soon overtake it.

As many portraits have been added to the cabinet since the publication, in 1838, of the last catalogue (which is inaccurate and imperfect in many particulars), I would suggest that a new list be prepared for the use of members and visitors to the rooms.

Respectfully,

J. APPLETON, *Assistant Librarian.*

Referred to the Standing Committee, with full powers.

Mr. R. FROTHINGHAM presented a quarto volume, entitled "The Idiot, or Invisible Rambler, by Samuel Simpleton." The first number of this periodical is dated Boston, July 18, 1818: the last number (fifty-two) is dated Jan. 2, 1819. At the head of each paper is a cut representing an idiot, under which are the words, "Devoted to innocent amusement." The valedictory states that the idiot became merged in the "Kaleidoscope."

Some conversation was held relating to the authorship of the Introductory Essay to the edition of Wood's "New England's Prospect," Boston, 1764; which subject had been introduced by the President at the last meeting. Mr. BRIGHAM stated that he had in his possession a copy of the work, in which Dr. Cotton Tufts, its former owner, had written the name of the author of the essay. It did not, however, occur to his recollection at the present moment.

The presiding officer requested Mr. Brigham to examine his copy of the work, and report the result at the next meeting.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, Nov. 13, at twelve o'clock, M.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the American Philosophical Society; the Trustees of the New-York State Library; the Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society; H. Cox, Esq.; L. L. Doty, Esq.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Hon. Henry Wilson; and from Messrs. Folsom, Lincoln (S.), Robbins (C.), Robbins (J. M.), Sibley, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President, in announcing the death of M. Edme François Jomard, an Honorary Member of the Society, remarked as follows:—

The name of M. Jomard will ever be associated with the study of Egyptian geography and antiquities. He was one of the oldest members of the Institute of France, and Dean of the Academy of Inscriptions. He died suddenly on the 25th of September last. Educated an engineer, he joined the French expedition to Egypt in 1799, and afterwards devoted many years to the illustration and study of Egyptian antiquities. His archæological and geographical works are lasting monuments of his talents and industry. He took great interest in the progress of popular education, and exerted himself to diminish crime by enlightening and ameliorating the condition of the lower classes in France.

A request from James Parton, Esq., for permission to examine and make extracts from "The Small Tithes of Ecton Parish," given to the Society by Thomas Carlyle, of England, through the hands of Mr. Everett, was referred to the Standing Committee, with authority to grant the same on the usual conditions.

Mr. BRIGHAM communicated the following paper on the authorship of the Introductory Essay, published with the third edition of Wood's "New England's Prospect;" and giving his reasons for attributing the essay to Nathaniel Rogers, a merchant of Boston, who was a graduate of Glasgow in 1755, and A. M. at Harvard in 1762.

A question has lately arisen as to the authorship of the Introductory Essay, published with the third edition of Wood's "New England's Prospect."

It is apparent from the essay itself, that the author had travelled in Europe; for he says that he accidentally found the work in a bookseller's shop in London. He was also the author of the notes published with the book; which seem to

indicate, from his familiarity with the laws and customs of Holland, that he had also been in that country. In one of his notes, relative to the effect of climate on health, he acknowledges himself indebted for that information to "an ingenious physician, who had long indulged him with his friendship."

I have in my possession a copy of that work, formerly belonging to Dr. Cotton Tufts, of Weymouth; upon the title-page of which is written, in the handwriting of Dr. Tufts, these words: "The gift of Nathaniel Rogers, Esq., by whom the Introductory Essay was written, to Cotton Tufts, 1767." At the end of the essay is also written, in the same hand, "Introductory Essay; wrote by Nathaniel Rogers, Esq."

I have compared the handwriting with the journal kept by Dr. Tufts for many years; and there can be no doubt that the above words were written by him, and probably at the time indicated, in 1767.

Dr. Tufts was a graduate of Harvard College of the class of 1749; was a physician of eminence; and was generally esteemed as a man of learning and ability. He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and for some years one of its officers. He was also President of the Massachusetts Medical Society. It is very probable that he was the "ingenious physician" spoken of in the note referred to.

We, then, have his statement, made at the time, that Nathaniel Rogers, Esq., was the author of the essay; and made, too, on a copy which said Rogers presented to him. The gift would indicate friendship and familiarity; and would seem to imply a knowledge, on his part, of the fact which he there stated. We can hardly have better or more conclusive evidence. It is certainly conclusive, unless some evidence can be found to control it.

On examining the Boston "Gazette" of July 23, 1764, I find this edition advertised for sale. After describing the

work in an advertisement, it is added, "To this edition is subjoined a large Introductory Essay; also explaining notes by another hand;" but there is no mention of whose hand it was.

Regarding it as proved that Nathaniel Rogers, Esq., was the author of that essay, the next inquiry is, Who was Nathaniel Rogers? and was he a person whose education, and condition in life, were such as to enable him to write such an essay?

On reference to the Harvard-College Catalogue, I find that the honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred on Nathaniel Rogers in 1762; that he was a graduate of the University of Glasgow in 1755; and that he died in 1770. On reference to the records of our courts, I find, from 1757 to 1770, twelve actions brought by him against numerous individuals for the recovery of money; in all of which, prior to 1767, he was styled a merchant; and in all, after that date, he was called "esquire." There is no action in that name after 1770. The same distinction of title is made in the Registry of Deeds; and it would seem, from the mortgages which he took and trusts which he had, that he was a man of some substance, as well as a person in whom the public had confidence. The probate records show, that Thomas Hutchinson was appointed administrator of his estate, Aug. 25, 1770; and the inventory of his property amounted to three thousand seven hundred pounds, among which was a valuable library.

On examining the records at the Secretary's Office, I find, that on the 5th of August, 1767, he was appointed Justice of the Peace for the county of Suffolk; which explains the change of title in the actions and deeds above referred to.

In the copy of the Harvard Catalogue in the library of this Society, by James Winthrop, librarian, there is this entry, "Nath. Rogers, Mr. Glasgow, merchant in Boston."

In the Boston "Gazette" of Aug. 13, 1770, I find this notice: "Last Thursday noon, Nath. Rogers, Esq., of this town,

merchant, was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder, and died in a few hours after. His remains were interred on Saturday afternoon."

From these facts and this evidence, it seems to be clearly proved, that the author of the essay was Nathaniel Rogers, Esq., the graduate of the University of Glasgow, and the Boston merchant.

Mr. SIBLEY stated, that, two or three years ago, Charles Lowell Hancock, Esq., of Boston, a graduate of Harvard College in 1829, sent to him a volume in manuscript, which, on examination, appeared to contain all the accounts of Edward Hutchinson, as Treasurer of Harvard College, from 1721 to 1752. It was at once passed to the Corporation of the University, to fill the chasm during Hutchinson's administration of the finances.

Subsequently, through the kindness of Mr. Hancock, Mr. Sibley received another manuscript volume. The covers were mouldy and rotten. The leaves, which had been repeatedly wet, adhered to each other, and were crumbling to pieces. With great care and delicate manipulation, they were separated. They contained several spoonfuls of the chaff of worms, which had made sad havoc, and destroyed important portions of the writing, while the water had made other portions almost illegible.

*Account-books of Treasurers of Harvard College from 1669
to 1752.*

The volume was found to comprise day-book and ledger, and to be the account-book* of the Treasurer of Harvard Col-

* The Richards book has come to light since the notice of the Brattle book was laid before the Society; but it has been thought best to give notices of them both.

lege during the financial administration of John Richards, from 1669 to 1693; covering the intervening one of Samuel Nowell from 1682 to 1686. The "Several Bonds, Obligacoñs, & Accompts rec^d from Mr. Thomas Danforth, late Treas^r of Harvard Colledge. So much, he saith, due to said College," amounted to £824. 19. 3., when Richards became Treasurer.

The earliest date in the book is 3 June, 1669. The oldest account, 1 May, 1661, evidently transferred from an earlier record, is with "Mr. John Russell, Senior, of Hadley." He was the father of the Rev. John Russell, who for many years concealed the regicides, Whalley and Goffe. He is charged with —

"Goods dd him pr Mr Danforth as pr bill . . . £68. 15. 7

"There is no interest taken pr order of Corporacoñ because he is poor, &c."

The payments by Russell were made from time to time in pork, flour, oatmeal, wheat, and pease, of which there are separate entries.

In 1669, several persons in Portsmouth, N.H., engaged to give to the college £60 a year for seven years. Of this amount, Mr. Richard Cutt gave £20 per annum. This Portsmouth gift is designated in the book as the "Piscatoque Benevolence." The payments were made almost wholly in boards and pipe-staves.

"March 21, 1669-70. Paid Mr. Chauncy pr order of Corporacoñ toward S ^r Taylor's comenem ^t	£1. 0. 0
& to Mr Tho. Danforth Steward w ^{ch} he hath Credit for	2. 0. 0
	<hr/>
	3. 00. 00

"Both these must be p^d out of Piscatoque Benevolence."

"July 16, 1670. Rec^d from Mr Rich^d Cutt pr Anth Low in pt of Piscatoque benevolence 4 m 6 c merch^l pipestaves & 14 c refuse as by Cullers certificate. they say all merchantable; but when culled here they prove as fores^d.
pd Sam^l Mattock for culling & piling 4 s. pr m. . . . 24s."

Many shipments from Mr. Cutt were received afterwards.

"July 25, 1672. Paid for Mr Chauncy's funerall Expenses £15. 16. 2."

This was President Chauncy.

There are several charges for money lent. The ruling rate of interest was eight per cent. A considerable part of the business of the college was carried on by barter.

"July 25, 1672. Rec^d of John Man in money £10 pr order of Mr And^r Belcher jun^r in full for 1 m Iron sold to s^d Belcher, w^{ch} was rec^d of John Pool for 5000 foot boards sold to Henry Kemball decem. 30. 71. Piscatoqui benevolence . . . £10."

Jan 9, 1672-3. "Colledge Dr to paid my Br^o Shrimpton for candlesticks. 3 a 6|6. 19s. 6.

& to 15 yds fine dowlas att 2|7 pr y^d for table clothes £1. 8. 9

2. 8. 3."

Jan 17, 1672-3. "Rec^d of Joseph Wise Sen^r of Roxbury a note & bill of Mr Roger Plaisted of Piscatoque for 15000 foot boards to be dd at Boston, w^{ch} I promise to receive accordingly when sent. & to make the most of them in money, & to pay what is due to the Colledge from s^d Wise for Cattle sold him, or as much of it as it will reach, & if there be overplus to returne it to said Wise."

"March 11, 1672-3. Rec^d of Chr Webb in pt 8 bush. wheat & 4 bush meal att 4s bush. but putt it off againe att 42s. £2. 2."

"March 22, 1672-3. School house of Boston Dr to Boards 1001 foot att 30s pr m £1. 10."

March 29, 1673. "Sold Mr Armestrong Boards 1018 foot att 35|6 pr m. rec^d in money £1. 15. 6."

"Sept 2 —75. pd M^r Howard Scriven^r toward makeing the table for names in the Buttery. 7s. It cost in all 20s but I rec^d of Mr Gookin 13s & paid the remainder 7s."

"Oct 27, 1675. Paid Mr Peter Sergeant pr order of Presd^t & Fellowes money 24s w^{ch} is for fruit & charges of a case of Bookes from London a gift of Mr Rich^d Baxter £1. 4."

"July 6, 1676. Colledge Dr to money p^d Mr Danⁱ Gookin pr order for removing bookes 0. 4s. 6."

"August 26, 1676. Colledge Dr to one Iron pott 35 lb at 4|d pr lb. dd Mr Manning pr order of Mr Thomas Danforth for Colledge use. to boyle Ciseing 13s. 1½."

- "August 31, 1676. paid Mr Dan^l Gookin, one of the Fellowes, money 50s in Satisfaction for his paines in removing the library to the new Colledge & placeing them. w^{ch} is pr order of Corporacoñ as by his rec^t. . . . £2 10 0."
- "Aug 10, 1677. Harvard College Dr to money to Wadsworth the butler for Trenchers 1 gross. 2 flagons. one Can. in all 40s. . . . £2. 0 0."
- "Nov 1, 1677. Harvard Colledge Dr to money to Mr Ammi Corlitt for washing and sweeping the Library in New Colledge . 5s."
- "Feb 15, 1677-8. Paid Mr John Turner for a dinner for the Overseers & Corporacoñ of Harvard Colledge att his house on the 29th. Jan^r 1677 [1677-8] £2. 10."
- "Aug 6 1678. Colledge Dr to money to Recompence Wadsworth butler for Trenchers. thred &c. 20s & linnen cloth for table Pinners w^{ch} said Butler tooke at Mr Mumfords £4. 17. 0 as pr Mr Danforths order £5. 17."

There are several charges for trenchers, linen, cans, and "puter," at subsequent dates.

- "Aug 23, 1679. Paid to Jn^e Palfry 36s. on the president's note for 1 doz. Stooles for Colledge Library £1. 16."
- "Oct 14, 1679. p^d Mr Dan^l Gookin 3s money Sweepeing Colledge pr Rob^t browne for 1 year expiring Sept. last" . . . 0. 3. 0.

Under the dates, Dec. 8, 1679, and Jan. 5, 1679-80, are charges, amounting to more than £20, for freights, &c., on eleven boxes of books for the library.

- June 2, 1680. "Colledge Dr to money pd Major Tho. Smith for drawing Dr Ames effigies pr Order of Corporation . £4. 4."

This is probably the picture, renovated and restored by Howorth, which is now in the Picture Gallery in Harvard Hall.

- "July 1, 1680. Paid unto Thomas Willis, Carpenter, in pt towards building Presidents House
- Pr note to Capt John Hull for corne £20. pt of Mr Clarkes gift above £20
- Pr money £30 & one barrill porke £3. pr more money Aug 13. £16 49
- Pr money to Andr. Belcher Assigne of Mr Danforth on Willis's note £24 24."

Besides these are other payments in money, provisions, goods, orders, &c., towards the President's house and the fencing; the total being £260. The Henry Clark alluded to was of Hadley. He died in 1676, and left to the college £50 in country pay.

Oct. 23, 1680. "Paid Mr Shippen for window curtaine of green bayes, 10s. 10s."

Nov. 24, 1680. "Pd fraite & charges to C. Penny for Globes &c. pr Mr Stoughton's order 12s 6d 12. 6."

"March 24, 1681. Paid Will^m Bordman, Cooke, money, £3. 7s for dinner for raising Presidents House pr order . . . £3. 7."

June 23, 1681, are charges of £16. 16s. 6d. for scarves and gloves, and £8. 14s. for twelve rings at Mr. Oakes's funeral.

Oct. 17, 1681. Peter Sergeant is credited by "a negro boy bought of him & Mr Thomas Smith" £20.

"Dec 29, 1681. p^d to Mr Tho Brattle money 18s. So much he pd for mending Colledg new clock 18s."

In 1692 was a payment to Zechariah Hicks for "Banisters on the top of Colledge House."

April 3, 1693, a payment of £2. 2. 6. was made to John Coney "for a seal for the use of the Colledge."

On a loose paper in the book are the —

"Proposals by Jn^o Leverett & W^m Brattle Fellows of Harvard Colledge, tendred to y^e Consideration of the Hon^d Corporation meeting at Harvard Colledge in Cambridge June 2^d 1690.

"1. That by the President & Council, the Rev^d Mr. I. Mather etc., Anno 1686, There was allowed to us, besides the Ferry, the Sum^e of fifty-eight pounds for that year, w^{ch} Sum^e of £58 we fully rec^d, & were as fully satisfied with, altho the s^d Sum^e was Considerably Less, then has been allowed to ye ffellows, Circumstanced as we were, since our Remembrance.

"2. That for y^e years 1687, 88 and 89 (Now Expiring) besides y^e Ferry we have not received one Penny.

"3. That for these three last years our Expences have necessarily been as great, our Difficulties more Intricate & our Services more

Burthensome then they were Anno 86, Especially these two last years, by Reason of y^e Revd. Mr Mather's Absence, whose presence very much Mitigated our Difficulties & Alleviated our trouble & toyle.

"4. The Præmises being Considered, Viz^t, That £58 were allowed to us Anno 1686, That y^e said Sum^e was Considerably less then has been allowed heretofore to y^e Fellows under our Circumstances & That our Expences trouble & difficulties have exceeded what we before met wth (In Consideration hereof) We conceive; that In desiring y^e s^d Sum^e of £58 be annually allowed & paid us for y^e 3 last Years, our Desires are but Reasonable, just & moderate; and That if [we] desire the Addition of the Odd twenty shillings to make our Annuall Allowance (Severally) thirty pounds, we sh^d not be unreasonable or Imo-derate; Especially it being Considered, That wheras formerly there was wont annually to be disbursed upon the Colledge for Reparations, paying Officers and Schollarships more then 40 or 50 pounds annually; for near these three years last past ye Colledge has not drawn one penny out of the Treasury.

"We have plainly & fully exprest our Minds, & according to our desires has our Expectation been; Nothing remains but that we annex our Hearty Thanks for this meeting, & Readiness to submit to yor Determinations."

"In answer to the Proposals about the Corporation for the Colledge mett June 16 1690 at Cambridge (p^rsent Mr Neh^r Hubbard,* Mr Nath. Gookin, Mr Cotton Mather, Mr John Leverett, and Mr Will^m Brattle, wth my Selfe) agreed that the two Fellowes Mr Leverett & Mr Brattle abovesaid should have £50 pr Annum for the yeares 87. 88. & 89 pd them out of Colledge money beside the Ferry. So as may not be prejudiciall to the Colledge Stocke: These 3 years Expired at the Comencem^t, viz July 1690; or August 1st 1690."

On the last Seniors' Class Day, 20 June, 1862, Mr. Hancock sent to Mr. Sibley another manuscript volume. All who are familiar with President Quincy's History of the University will remember that he speaks of College Books Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, as "all the books that have any claim to the character of 'early records.'" On the first leaf of this book, which

* Nehemiah Hobart.

was never seen by him, are the words, "College Book No. 5, in Folio." It was the book used by Thomas Brattle, as Treasurer. It covers the period from 8 May, 1693,—on which day he was chosen to succeed Major John Richards,—till 11 May, 1713; just one week before he died.

The first part of the book contains copies of letters, with the names of the persons to whom they were addressed written, on the margin, at a later date, apparently by President Wadsworth. The first letter is to Samuel Crisp, Esq., of Clapham, respecting the income of the Pennoyer Fund, which still comes to the college annually from the farm at Pulham, in Norfolk, England.* There are several letters on the subject. President Mather received and receipted for the income when he was abroad, and for a picture of Pennoyer. The picture was burned at the disastrous destruction of the library in 1764. In 1694, the payment was made by a shipment of pewter.

Nov. 24, 1698. The "President & Fellows of Harvard College," through the President, represented to the General Court, "That about 50 years since y^e Lady Moulson & other well disposed persons in

* William Pennoyer, or Pennoyer, in his will, dated 20 May, 1670, says something like this: "And for and concerning my messuage in Norfolk, let unto Robert Moor at the yearly rent of £40 per annum, my will is, that, out of the rents and profits thereof, £10 per annum shall be paid for ever to the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England; and that, with the residue thereof, two Fellows and two Scholars for ever shall be educated, maintained, and brought up in the college called Cambridge College, in New England: of which I desire one of them, so often as occasion shall present, may be of the line and posterity of the said Robert Pennoyer, if they be capable of it; and the other, the colony of Nox, or of late called New-Haven Colony, if conveniently may be. And I declare my mind to be, that eight years, or thereabout, as a convenient time for educating of each scholar respectively; and, about that standing, others to be taken into their places; which nevertheless, as to him, I leave to the master and the governor of said college. This is to be performed after the death of my wife Martha Pennoyer."

A lineal descendant of Robert, brother of William Pennoyer, entered Harvard College in the academical year 1841-42. As the term of college education lasts only for half the period which William Pennoyer deemed "convenient," the corporation determined to give him the extra benefit of the fund during his residence at Cambridge, "if" he "be capable of it."

England gave a considerable Summe of mony to y^e s^d Harvard Colledg, w^{ch} mony was laid out in England & y^e produce of it here amounting to £162. 16s. 4d. Lent & paid in to y^e Treasury of y^e late Colony of the Massachusetts, for y^e use whereof fifteen pounds (in Country pay) was allowed annually by y^e Gen^l Court & duely paid by y^e Country Treasurer to the Treasurer of y^e Colledg from y^e year 1648 to y^e year 1685, as y^e Hon^{ble} Mr Thomas Danforth & Mr James Russell, Some time Treasurers of y^e said Colledg & Country can certify, Since w^{ch} time by reason of Change of Govern^t & y^e Countryes great debts & charges, nothing has been rec^d from y^e Country on that acco^t, whereby y^e Colledg has Suffered not a little, its Stock being very low, & not capable of defraying its necessary Charges.

"Your petitioners do therefore humbly pray y^e said matter may be taken into your Consideration & that now y^e Country is out of debt, you will be pleased in yo^r great equity & goodness to give order for ye [] of s^d principall Summe of 162. 16. 4d., w^{ch} w^t remains unpaid of y^e use thereof, &c."

Petitions to the same effect had been presented 16 November, 1693, and 15 August, 1695. The Corporation did not, however, get either principal or interest for nearly thirty years, as may be inferred from the following record, made by Treasurer Brattle with his characteristic minuteness:—

"Boston, 29th March, 1713. Cash rec^d of Mr Taylor province Treasur^r £426. 10. 4d., being £162. 16. 4d. of it y^e principal remaining due of monies borrowed by y^e late Colony of y^e Massachusetts Bay of y^e College, & £263. 14s. being for Interest for s^d Sum at 6 pr cent. pr ann from the year 1685 to this time; less pd Mr Addington for a Warrant to y^e Treasur^r to pay me s^d sum, pursuant to a resolve of y^e Gen^l Court at their last sessions in March Last 2s. £426. 8. 4.

"Memd^m. This £162. 16. 4 w^t w^t w^t due for my Lady Moulson's &c gift to o^r College, lent y^e Country a^o 1648, & they p^d Int. for till 1685."

There are some very sharp dunning-letters, which show the zeal, fidelity, and perseverance with which the Treasurer looked after the college property. Among them are several beginning with "1. 9ber, 1700," to Captain Edward Pelham of Newport, R.I., a graduate in 1672, and son of Herbert Pel-

ham of Cambridge, the first Treasurer of the College. The Pelham account, containing several items of debt and credit, dated back as far as September, 1681. According to Brattle's letters, he had borne the delays with great patience, till he writes, —

"4. 7ber. 1708. S^r Being at Cambridge y^e last week, I understood you had been there twice or thrice since I last spake wth you, & that yⁿ were selling some of yo^r Lands there. My not seeing you as I hoped I should has put me upon writing you these lines, w^{ch} are to put yⁿ in mind of yo^r repeted Assurances & Engagemeⁿ that y^e first mony yⁿ had either by sale of Lands or any other way, you would pay me at least all that w^d due for Interest, if not also part of y^e Principall. This, S^r, is w^t I justly expect & claim from yⁿ, & if you fail me in y^e least mesure herein, I am sure yⁿ must justifie me, if I count yⁿ one of y^e falsest & most Disingenious of Men, & treat yⁿ accordingly. But hoping better & that yⁿll give me no Occasion for any Such harsh Opinion or Treatm^t I take leave & am S^r yo^r very loving frd & Serv^t T. B."

Oct. 4, 1708, Pelham was credited with "165 oz. N. E. money at 8s. per oz." In a letter dated 7 February, 1709-10, Brattle writes of not having received any thing for about a year and a half; and says, "Mr. Dudley * told me y^e other day that you were about clearing with him both principal and Interest. I am apt to think it would be for your advantage if you did y^e same to y^e College and the rest of your Creditors." The latter part of the letter is mild; and 19 February, 1710-11, he writes, "As you haue been pleas'd to acknowledge my Civilities to yo^r Self ever since I have been concernd wth you in this affair, so I must wth equal justice acknowledge your treating me with y^e like Civility and very much like a Gentleman. Thus presenting you with my kind respects I take leave and subscribe my self, S^r, your very faithfull friend & Servant to my power. T. B." A satisfactory

* Dudley bought his lands. They were situated in what was then called the "Neck," but now known as Cambridgeport.

settlement was made 6 November, 1711. There are letters to other debtors, of a similar character.

There are letters to James Steward and Philip Fowler, in relation to the property bequeathed by the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley. There is a long letter, dated 25 February, 1707-8, to John Chamberlayne, F.R.S., thanking him in behalf of the Corporation for the gift of his "Present State of England and y^e Quebec Catechism." Under the same date, is a letter superscribed "To y^e most Rev^d Thomas Wardapiet Arch Bishop of Gochtan in Perso-Armenia (about 90 years of age wth a venerable aspect, & lately in London)," returning him "humble thanks for y^e Book of y^e Hymns w^{ch} are sung throughout y^e year in y^e Armenian Churches," with which he was "pleased by way of Present to Grace our Library in s^d College withall, where it is very carefully preserved & lookt upon as one of its greatest Rarities. The most Rev^d Title of yo^r Grace y^e Donor of it, y^e Curiosity of the Character of it, and y^e Vast distance of Armenia from y^s place w^{ch} is about one third part of y^e Terrestriall Globe do all Contribute to render it y^e more precious & valuable." Donations of books in those days were so uncommon as to receive labored replies by way of acknowledgment. These volumes were probably destroyed in the fire of 1764.

The next portion of this manuscript volume commences with a vote:—

"At a meeting of the Corporation at the College in Cambridg, May 8th, 1693,—

"Present.

Mr. INCREASE MATHER, *Presid^t*.

Mr. JAMES ALLEN,

Mr. CHARLES MORTON,

Mr. SAMUEL WILLARD,

Mr. COTTON MATHER,

Mr. JNO LEVERETT,

Mr. NEH. WALTER,

} *Fellows.*

"Whereas at the last Corporation, the Worpⁿ Maj^r Richards requested that he might be dismissed from being Treasurer of Harvard Colledge: the Corporation having considered that there are other weighty Services, for the Country incumbent on y^e said Treasur^r, have thought it reasonable that wth many thanks for his former Services for the Colledge his desire of a dismission from y^e burden of his relation to this Society be complied with.

"And that Mr Thomas Brattle be chosen to succeed Maj^r Richards as Treasur^r of Harvard Colledge.

"Voted & agreed, Nemine dissentiente.

"Vera Copia. Attestat^r, JNO. LEVERETT."

At this time, the validity of the college charter was called in question. To meet the emergency, 12 October, 1696, "the Hon^{ble} y^e L^t. Govern^r desired & appointed" the persons whose names I have just inserted, to act as President, Fellows, and Treasurer, "to proceed in the Institution & Government of the house, & in the management of the Estate of y^e Colledg, according to the late rules of said Colledg, untill his Maj^{ty}s further pleasure shall be known, or a legall Settlement of said Colledg shall be obtained." July 6, 1699, a similar power was given by Bellomont, to continue "untill y^e end of y^e next Session of y^e Generall Assembly." At the session begun 29 May, 1700, the Legislature made arrangement for carrying on the affairs of the college; and among the persons appointed for the purpose, besides "Increase Mather, nominated to be President," was "Sam^l Willard, Vice President." It was voted, "in case of Mr. Mather's refusall, absence, sickness, or death, that Mr. S. Willard, nominated to be Vice President, with y^e other Gentlemen before named, be & hereby are invested with y^e like powers & authority." At the September Court held in 1701, Willard (together with y^e Gentlemen named for y^e Corporation in y^e Order of y^s Court) was "desired to take y^e care & managem^t of y^e College & students there accord^g to y^e late Establishment made by y^s Court, & to manage y^e affairs

thereof as he has proposed in his answer to y^e Court; viz., to reside there for 1 or 2 days & nights in a Week, & to p^rform prayers & expositions in y^e Hall; & to bring forward y^e Exercise of Analysing." The Legislature, with a view probably to get rid of Mather, had passed an act, that no person should hold the office of President without residing at Cambridge; and Willard, with the title *Vice President*, performed all the duties of President, though he continued to reside in Boston.

After extracts from the wills of Pennoyer, Penn, and Pelham, is a blank page, preceding another division of the book. It opens with a schedule of the college property at the time it passed from Treasurer Richards to Treasurer Brattle; and deserves preservation, as showing the amount of the property more than half a century after the college was founded, and the manner in which it was invested.

It may not be amiss to state, that, when Treasurer Richards went abroad in behalf of the Colony of Massachusetts, the Corporation "chose the worshipful Samuel Nowell, Treasurer; liberty being referred [reserved?] for the worshipful John Richards to resume the place on his return." President Quincy says the personal estate of the college, in 1683, amounted to £2,357, satisfactorily invested; and in addition, "in lands, houses, and annuities," produced an annual income of £242, including £50, the yearly rent of Charlestown Ferry. Subsequently, the persons who made up accounts with Mr. Nowell "found several persons broke, to whom money was let; to one in Cambridge, £100. The rest, Mr. Nowell could give no account of. But the college estate lost & sunk to the amount of £1,100 in the hands of that good but unfortunate gentleman, who sunk his own estate also by ill management." Through the "persuasion of Mr. Dudley, Mr. Stoughton, & Mr. Increase Mather," Mr. Richards again resumed the duties of Treasurer, 22 October, 1686.

Stock belonging to Harvard Colledg at Cambridge, 1693.

				<i>Principal.</i>		<i>1693. Interest due.</i>	
				£	s. d.	£	s. d.
John Barnard	Watertown	Bill		5	0 0	March 29.	1 3 0
Mathew Bridg	Cambridg	Bond		30	0 0	April 1.	
David Mead	Billerica	Bill		8	10 0	" 8.	6 1 6
Symon Crosby, Billerica, Jos. Crosby	Brantry	Bond		60	0 0	" 26.	4 16 0
Edward Pelham	Rhode Isld.	Mort.		341	4 0	May 28.	74 8 0
Beth Perry	Boston	Mortg.		67	2 0	June 18.	
Nathaniel Wilson, &c.	Camb. village.	Bond		15	0 0	" 16.	1 4 0
William Shattock, &c.	Watertown	Bond		15	0 0	July 20.	1 4 0
Edward Hill of Boston, Capt ^{as} White	Weymouth	Bond		50	0 0	" 25.	12 0 0
Samuel Payne, Brantry, Capt. Holbrook	Weymouth	Bond		20	0 0	Aug. 17.	2 0 0
Robert & Benjamin Baddock	Milton	Bond		30	0 0	" 19.	12 0 0
Elias Parkman	Boston	Mort.		112	10 0	" 23.	18 0 0
Mr. Richard Wharton	Boston	Bond		100	0 0	" 24.	48 0 0
Joseph Holmes, &c.	Boston	Bond		25	0 0	Sept. 15.	14 0 0
Joseph Webb	Boston	Bond		26	0 0	" 28.	4 16 0
Isabod & Ebeneser Brown	Cambridg	Bond		21	2 0	" 29.	8 2 0
William Smith	Boston	Morg. & Bond		62	8 0	" 29.	11 2 0
John Jackson	Cambridg	Bond		89	5 0	" 29.	14 4 0
Robert Burgess & Robert Ingolls	Lyn	Bill		34	6 0	" 30.	18 18 0
Samuel Goff, &c.	Cambridg	Bond		50	0 0	Oct. 4.	4 0 0
John Green	Cambridg	Bond		3	0 0	" 29.	0 8 0
Richard Crisp	Boston	Bond		25	0 0	Nov. 21.	2 0 0
Richard Way	Boston	Morg.		30	0 0	Jan. 23.	12 16 0
Interest anno 1693				1270	7 0	265	17 6
June 6, 1698, mony of Jn ^o Bunker, delivered to m ^o July 4 th , pr.				1636	4 6		
Jn ^o Richards				16	16 0		
				1553	0 6		

Other Debts owing to the Colledg.

March 29 th , 98.	Robert Burgess, Robert Ingolls & Richard Hood, all of Linn, ow for rent of Coll. meadow . . .	2 6 0
Decemb. 25, 98.	Richard Hood, Robert Potter & Nath ^l Ingolls of Lynn, ow for rent of s ^d meadow . . .	9 15 4
	A Legacy of Richard Russell, Esq ^r ., £100. March 22, 1690, received in provisions, to Tho. Willis, £31. 18s. 4d.	68 6 8
	A Legacy of Mr. Edmund Brown's of Sudbury, M ^r . Sam ^l Goff, Executor	100 0 0
		180 8 0

Colledg Rents.

Feb. 10, 92.	Annuity of M ^r . . . Glover . . .	5 0 0	pr. a ⁿ . Mr Tho. Clark is to pay, due this day . . .	4 0 0
April 4, 93.	A House in Boston, M ^r Webb's gift . . .	15 0 0	pr. a ⁿ . Lett to Enoch Greenleaf, due April, 94 . . .	15 0 0
March 1, 98.	Bumkin Island, M ^r Ward's gift . . .	2 5 0	Lett to Isaac Lobdall, due March 1, 93 . . .	2 5 0
April 14, 98.	Land at Watertown . . .	1 5 0	Lett to Sam ^l Livermore, due April 14, 98 . . .	1 5 0
June 25, 98.	An House in Boston, Capt. Klein's gift . . .	12 0 0	pr. a ⁿ . Mr Kampbell j due June 25, 98 . . .	3 0 0
March 25, 98.	Annuity of Mr. Newgates . . .	5 0 0	pr. a ⁿ . out of his farm, M ^r Shrimpton, due 7 yrs . . .	35 0 0
Jan ^y 1, 1678.	Annuity of Capt. Sam ^l Scarlet . . .	7 0 0	pr. a ⁿ . only ten pounds rec ^d	
	Annuity of Elder Pen . . .	10 0 0	pr. a ⁿ . Enquire of Capt. Townsend.	
	Charlstown ferry . . .	50 0 0	pr. a ⁿ . all paid to May 1 st , 1698.	
	Lady Moulsons &c. gift, £162. 16s. 4d. . .	15 0 0	pr. a ⁿ . Richard Russell, Esq ^r ., late Treasurer, used to pay it, being let to the Country. Nothing rec ^d for many years.	
Mr. Coggans gift, meadow at Lyn . . .		122 10 0	pr. a ⁿ . Lett to Rich ^d Hood, Nath. Ingolls & Rob ^t . Potter.	
		8 0 0		
		130 10 0		

Rents in England.

Mr. William Penoyer's gift out of a farm in Norfolk, of which the Corporation for the Indians have ten pounds pr. aⁿ., the rest to the Colledg, lately brought in clear but £13 pr. aⁿ. to us. All is rec^d to March 25, 85, besides w^t M^r. Increase Mather rec^d when he was in England.

John Dodrige, Esq^r., his gift, £10 pr. aⁿ., paid to Feb. 84, beside w^t M^r. Mather rec^d.

Rec^d of Maj John Richards of Boston, late Treasurer of Harvard Colledg, the severall bonds, bills & mortgages above, to value of twelve hundred & seventy pounds seven shillings, with the Acco^t of Interest due on them anno 1698, two hundred sixty-five pounds Seventeen shillings 9th pence, as pr. margent in all on the Colledg's Acco^t, £1593. 4s. 6d.

And the Acco^t of One hundred & eighty pounds eight shillings due to r^e Colledg, £180. 8s.

And the Acco^t of Rents due to the Colledg to value of one hundred thirty pounds ten shillings pr. aⁿ., besides M^r. Penoyer's and M^r. Dodrige's annuity in England.

Likewise rec^d the sixteen pounds sixteen shillings in mony. Pr. order of the Corporation of s^d Colledg.

I say rec^d July 4, 1693.

Pr. THO. BRATTLE, *Treas^r of Harvard Coll.*

Of the legacy of Richard Russell, mentioned in the preceding account of stock, it does not appear that more than the £31. 13s. 4d. was ever received.

Henry Webb, by his will, dated 5 April, 1660, had bequeathed to the college the house and land, which, he says, he "lately purchased of Henry Phillips, and as the late house of Samuel Oliver, deceased."

The lease of the Webb House was continued for £15 a year, to Enoch Greenleaf, till Joseph Russell hired it in the year 1700. Russell held it till his decease in 1703; after which it was probably occupied by his widow Susanna, as she continued to pay the rent. When George Curwin, H.C. 1701, and Samson Sheafe, H.C. 1702, were in college, the rent was paid to them, they being grandchildren of Webb. The bookstore now occupied by Little, Brown, and Co., over which is the office of the College Treasurer, stands on the Webb Estate, which extended from Washington Street to Devonshire Street, and is still owned by the college. Oct. 28, 1704, "Cash p^d Æneas Salter, 31s. for paving before y^e College house, Mr. Webbs gift, 23 yds. at 20d. pr. yrd.,—less 14 yds. old stones, 7s. = £1. 11s." April 14, 1710, "Lett unto Mr. Wm. Payne the College house, Mr. Webbs gift, for 99 years from 25 March, 1710; to pay £12 pr. annum, & all rates & taxes, & charges of repairs, during s^d term, as pr. leases now signed, &c."

After the details in the above account of stock follow the Treasurer's accounts, which cover more than 94 of the 122 pages of which the book consists. †

Isaac Lobdall, of Hull, pays £45 "for one yeares rent of Bumpkin's Island." He had rented it as early as 1688. This island, "lying between Hull and Hingham," and afterward called Ward's Island, because Ward gave it to the college, was let to Lobdall "for 21 years from y^e 1st March, 1699, to pay £4 mony on y^e 1st March every year." Lobdall's son Isaac

subsequently took a lease of it, on the same terms, for twenty-one years from 1 March, 1707-8.

April 6, 1694. Jno. Francis is paid £6. 10s. "in full for his odd brick ware for the Colledg." Dec. 14, 1698. "Cash paid Mr. Tho. Willis £10 in full (with the bricks &c. of the old Indian colledg, sold him last April, by Act of y^e Corporation, for £20) for making a cellar under y^e Southerly end of the new building, unless y^e Corporation shall see meet to allow h^m anything further on y^e amo^t." May 13, 1700. "Cash p^d Mr. Tho. Willis in full of his acco^t for making a cellar under y^e Southerly end of Mr. Stoughton's Colledg, & for making divisions in s^d cellar, £10. Voted y^t I should pay him in full for y^e same."

In connection with these items, it may be observed, the college corporation had voted, 6 November, 1693, "that the Indian college be taken down, provided the charges of taking it down did not amount to more than £5." Sept. 19, 1695. The Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians, at a meeting in Boston, voted to let the bricks be removed, and used for "an additional building to Harvard College;" provided that, in case any Indians should hereafter be sent to the college, they should enjoy their studies rent free in said building. The corporation of the college, moreover, agreed, at their own expense, to make the cellar.

The salary of the "library keeper" was ordinarily £5 yearly: it was afterwards increased to £6. Sept. 16, 1709, "Paid Mr. Gookin for his pains in taking a Catalogue of y^e Books in y^e Library, about a year or two ago," £2. 10s.

President Mather resided in Boston; and, having to cross Charlestown Ferry, kept a horse, at the expense of the college, to ride between Charlestown and Cambridge.

Dec. 31, 1686. "Paid Lt. Cutler, of Charlestown, for shoeing Mr. Mather's horse, mending sadle, & new sadle cloth, 9s." March 14, 1687. "Paid Deacon Cutler 25s. money for wintering Mr. Mather's horse, & 12d. for shoeing, £1. 6s."

Sept. 13, 1694. "Cash pd. Henry Emms for keeping y^e President's horse from 26th May last to 19th instant, that he w^s remoov'd to Charlestown, being 16½ weeks, & for shoeing him, 6s. 8d.; in all, bating 2 w he w^s at Lyn, £4. 13." Aug. 28, 1695, more than was due was paid Mr. Austin "at his desire beforehand to buy hay the better withall." A later memorandum says, "s^d horse went to Mr. Austin's y^e 20 7^{br} 1694, & died the 12 April, 1696;" and he is paid for the keeping and for "other disbursments on him till he died." June 8, 1696. The Corporation instructed the Treasurer to pay the President "such money as he should need to purchase a horse with, for the better capacitating him to make his visits, &c., at the College;" and July 10, 1696, Brattle pays him £12 "according to ye order of the Corporation."

Mather, it seems, was a slave-owner; for, after the beginning of the year 1697, payments were often sent to him by "his negro." This negro was probably the Spanish Indian servant which his son Cotton Mather, in speaking of "the retaliating dispensations of Heaven towards" himself, says he bought and bestowed upon his father; and that, "some years after this, a knight, whom I had laid under many obligations,"—probably meaning Sir William Phips,— "bestowed a Spanish Indian servant upon *me*."

July 20, 1694. "Cash p^d Mr. Henry Newman £5, pr order of the Corporation, to procure the Colledg arms to be cut in Freestone or in marble." President Quincy cites an earlier memorandum, — 11 June, 1694: "Mr. Newman's proposal about procuring the College arms at Bilboa is left to the President's consideration and determination." In the manuscript volume College Book No. 5, under date of 27 April, 1695, is this:—

"Memd^m. Mr. Henry Newman bought with the produce of the £5 del^d him to procure the Colledg Arms, 27 cane joynts, — cost him in Barbados 4s. 6d. pr. ps., whereof he sold 3; the rest are in Mr. Mico's warehouse."

p. 37 of MS.

“Cash rec ^d for 6 of s ^d cane joynts, sold Mr. Winslow, at	
6s. pr ps	£1. 16.
More rec ^d of Mr. Newman for 3 that he sold for	
20s. & 4 to ball his aco ^t	1. 4.
Cash rec ^d 17 th June, 1696, for the rest of them,	
being short, scabby, & of no Substance, whereof	
16 to Mr. Jacklin for 36s.	2.
	<hr/>
	£5. 00.”

The last statement seems to leave it uncertain if Newman ever procured the arms. Several years since, in digging for a drain in the ground in which the old Stoughton Hall stood, a fragment of a stone resembling slate was dug up, on which arms had been cut; but the piece was not large enough to identify the arms. They may have been either the Stoughton arms or the College arms.

April 8, 1695, the corporation voted “That six leather Chairs be forthwith provided for y^e use of y^e Library, & six more before y^e Commencement, in Case y^e Treasury will allow of it.”

The manuscript before us charges,—

Dec. 22, 1697. “Cash paid Mr. Tho Fitch for 6 Russia chairs had of him at last Commencement for y^e Colledg Library.”

There is still in use in the library an old leather-bottomed chair: possibly it may be one of these.

May 14, 1698. Paid Mr. Jno. White “£15 toward bearing his charges to New York with y^e address of y^e Corporation to his Exc^{ty} y^e Govern^r.”

This journey had reference to the college charter. He also received £10 afterward.

April 27, 1699. “Y^e repeal of y^e Act for Incorporating of y^e Colledg was publickly proclaimed here in Boston.”

May 20, 1702. “Cash p^d y^e Rev^d Vice presid^t, Mr. Saml Willard, £5 toward his expenses out of pocket in visiting y^e College according to y^e vote of y^e Corporation, April 6th, 1702, as pr his rec^t on backside of a copy of s^d vote.”

Feb. 17, 1707-8. "Cash pd M^r Andrew Bordman £12 on acc^t of w^t was expended for y^e entertainm^t at y^e Instalment of y^e President y^e 14th Jan^r last."

"20 Dec. 1711. Cash p^d Sam^l Durham in full of his acco^t of work himself & 2 hands on y^e Brew-house, w^t £18. 8|6, but deducting 43| for his victualls at 6d. pr day each hand, p^d him . . £16. 5s. 6d."

"May 9, 1713. Cash p^d Mr. Andr^m Bordman on y^e President's note, & according to a vote of y^e Corporation, £16. 17|6 for y^e use & maintenance of Larnel, an Indian, $\frac{1}{2}$ a year from y^e time of his admission, w^{ch} w^a 5th 9^{ber}, 1712; being w^t was allowed him out of Mr. Boyle's Donation of £90 ster^s wth y^e Currant Exchange."

After these extracts and remarks respecting the manuscript volumes, and the information which they furnished respecting the college, and incidentally respecting the period over which they extended, Mr. Sibley spoke of another donation which had special reference to the College Library, and was received from Mr. Hancock on the same day with the Brattle Manuscript. This donation consisted of three manuscript papers of Benjamin Franklin, which are now for the first time printed. They are superscribed to "Thomas Hancock, Esquire, Boston;" and on the left-hand lower corner is "Free, B. Franklin."

I.

"PHILADELPHIA, 11th September, 1755.

"SIR, — You may remember, that, when I last had the Pleasure of seeing you, I mentioned the Inconvenience attending the Want of a Fund to increase and improve your College Library.

"I imagined that a Subscription set on foot for that purpose might, with proper Management, produce something considerable. I know you are a Friend to the College; and therefore take the Freedom of enclosing a Paper of that kind, and recommending it to your Care, to procure (if you approve of the design) a suitable Number of Hands to it. Five and twenty Subscribers, at 4 Pistoles Each per Annum, would, in five Years, produce 500 Pistoles; which, if all laid out in Books, would make a handsome Addition to the Library; or, if put to Interest, would produce a little Annual Income sufficient to procure the

best new Books published in each Year. Some might perhaps Subscribe more than four Pistoles per annum, and others less ; and I think a single Pistole or half a Pistole should not be refused ; Tho' such small Sums might occasion a little more Trouble in Receiving or Collecting. I send, withal, an Order on my Brother for my first Year's Payment. 'Tis but a Trifle compar'd with my hearty Good-will and Respect to the College, but a small Seed, properly Sown, sometimes produces a large and fruitful Tree ; which I sincerely wish may be the good Fortune of this. My respectful compliments to Mrs. Hancock ; and believe me to be, with very great Esteem, Sir,

" Your most Obedient, humble serv't,

" B. FRANKLIN.

" T. HANCOCK, Esq."

II.

" We whose Names are hereunto subscribed, taking into Consideration, that in the Library of the College at Cambridge, in New England, many books useful to Students in the several Branches of Learning are yet wanting ; and that as new Improvements are, from time to time, made in Science, new Books on many Subjects are continually coming forth, with which Seminarys of Learning especially should be early furnished, for the further Qualification of the Tutors, and Advantage of the Youth by them to be instructed. But inasmuch as there is not yet any Fund for such Purposes belonging to the said College, therefore, to remedy that Deficiency, in some Degree, for the Present, and farther to advance the Reputation of the College and the Public Good, We do each of us promise to pay Annually, for Five Years to come, the Sums to our respective Names annexed, into the Hands of the Treasurer of the said College for the Time being, to be disposed of in the Purchase of such Books for the Library as the President and Fellows shall, from time to time, order and direct."

Time of sub- scribing.	Names of Subscribers.	Annual Subscription for Five Years.	Lawful Money.
Sept. 11, 1755.	Benj. Franklin, of Philadelphia . . .	Four Pistoles	£4. 8s. 0d.

III.

£4. 8. 0.

" PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 11, 1755.

" Pay to the Treasurer of Harvard College for the time being, Four Pistoles, or Four Pounds Eight Shillings Lawful Money, being my Subscription to the Library of the said College for one Year next ensuing the Date hereof ; and charge the same to Acct of

" Your Loving Brother,

" B. FRANKLIN.

" To M. JOHN FRANKLIN, Postmr., Boston."

The drawing-up of these papers with his own hand, not leaving to others any details, which might be a friction on the movement, is characteristic of Franklin. Nothing, however, was effected. Franklin's order on his brother for his first instalment was never paid. No name but Franklin's was ever put on the subscription-paper. It is possible, however, that this appeal by Franklin led ultimately to the £500 which John Hancock, with the addition of about £55 from his own purse, gave to the College Library, in conformity with the intention of his uncle Thomas Hancock, to whom these papers were sent, and whose property he inherited.

All the records and documents of which Mr. Sibley spoke were found in the old Hancock House on Beacon Street, Boston, among the papers of Governor John Hancock, where they have remained ever since he was Treasurer of the College.

The President read a letter from General St. Clair, addressed to Governor Bowdoin, dated "Camp at Mons Creek, July 20, 1777, about five miles below Fort Edward."

General St. Clair to Governor Bowdoin.

CAMP AT MONS CREEK, July 28, 1777, about five miles below Fort Edward.

SIR, — I see, by the Boston paper, that you have given my letter to the public; though I am sorry to see, at the same time, some very illiberal reflections upon it. It is often the lot of people in trust to meet with censure where they have really merited praise, if events have not answered the public expectation. I do not pretend to say whether this was my case or not; but it is very ungenerous to take it for granted that it was otherwise. However, the public, I hope, will be soon satisfied in a more eligible method than discussing the matter through the channel of a newspaper, which is seldom a proper one; in the present instance highly imprudent, as it lays our weakness open to the enemy, if the generals are blameless, and destroys the public confidence in them they ought to possess, and may go a great

way towards having the same effect upon the army. I thank God this has not yet happened with the army, who are so perfectly sensible of the integrity and propriety of my conduct, that the field and other officers have, almost to a man (although they were not consulted upon the evacuations), declared, if I was censured for the measures I had taken, that they would quit the service. I knew the genius of them too well to intrust them with a design, the success of which depended entirely upon the secrecy with which it was executed. This may look like a reflection upon the officers; but there is so much familiarity betwixt them and the soldiers, that there is nothing comes to their knowledge but is very soon after in every quarter of the camp.

The colonel who complained so bitterly of his marching two days in the rear is Marshal, and has sent his correspondent a parcel of infamous falsehoods. The troops never wanted provisions. Beef they had in plenty. We brought off with us some cattle that had arrived the day before; and we took twenty from a party of the enemy on the first day's march. A man that cannot live two or three days on plenty of good beef is very unfit for a soldier. It perhaps does not become me to say it; but the retreat was made in as orderly and soldier-like a manner as was possible with raw, undisciplined troops. As to the attack upon Colonel Warner, who commanded the rear-guard, he halted, without my knowledge, six miles short of Castleton; which was the place marked for the halt of the whole army that night. At such a distance, it was impossible for me to support him; but the moment the firing began, I ordered Bellows' and Alcott's regiments of militia, who had left me the night before and halted two miles from Colonel Warner, to move up to his assistance. Had they obeyed my orders, it is probable the enemy might have been repulsed; though we now know the party that attacked him consisted of two thousand men, composed of the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, commanded by General Fraser. The inquiries about the arms of the troops I should think General Heath could very well satisfy. He must know in what situation he sent them off, and whether they were clothed or not. Public jealousy is a virtue; but it may be carried to an extreme, and then it becomes a vice. If it is not vicious, it is extremely uncandid, to condemn a man upon mere assumption, when they have neither proper information, nor, it may be, are capable of forming a judgment upon military matters. However, I bear all the abuse that is very plentifully poured forth upon me, with as much *sang-froid* as possible, happy in the consciousness of

my own innocence, and a full persuasion that my character and conduct will soon be put in its true point of view, as I have demanded an inquiry both from General Washington and Congress. I must own, however, that I am hurt by the accusation of treachery. As to want of spirit, no man in command, that wanted spirit, ever possessed the confidence of his troops; and in that respect, I am bold to say, I have always been fortunate enough to be both beloved and respected. I beg pardon for troubling you with so much about myself: but the first painful sensation undeserved censure occasions is not yet quite worn off; and I have given you the former detail, that you might be able to make some answer to well-meaning people, who may be glad to be truly informed. The numbers, however your people may be imposed upon, will be found exactly as I stated them; as I have been lucky enough to save not only the general returns, but those of the individual regiments, under the signature of their respective colonels: though I don't know whether I mentioned three regiments of militia, making about nine hundred men, officers included, who joined me the night before I left Ticonderoga, but who did not propose to stay more than two or three days at the utmost; nor that two militia regiments of your State, which composed part of my garrison, were to leave me the day I retreated, their times being expired, and they could not be prevailed to stay any longer.

We are here tolerably posted, waiting the approach of the enemy, though far inferior in numbers. It was found necessary to dismiss one-half of the militia on account of the harvest; and great part of the remaining half have followed them. Those from Connecticut are gone, to a man: but in a day or two we shall be joined by General Glover's brigade, when we shall be able to make some head, if the enemy should come on in force, which I think they dare not venture, as Colonel Warner has now a respectable body at Manchester, which may fall either upon their rear or flank. The ammunition was, every ounce, sent off from Ticonderoga, and as much of the provision as we had boats for; but a great part of the ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy by the vessel on board of which it was unluckily running aground. Colonel Long deserves all the praise he receives. He is an active, vigilant, brave officer.

I beg the favor that you will present my best compliments to Mrs. Bowdoin; and believe me with great respect,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

AR. ST. CLAIR.

The President also read a letter from Hon. Samuel Dexter — the father of the late Hon. Samuel Dexter, the eminent lawyer and statesman — to Governor Bowdoin, dated “Woodstock, Jan. 26, 1779.”

Hon. Samuel Dexter to Governor Bowdoin.

WOODSTOCK, Jan. 26, 1779.

SIR, — The high personal regard I have, and ever had, for you ; the honor and satisfaction I once enjoyed in being connected with you in public business ; the desire I have to know your sentiments in *confidence* respecting the probable event of the war ; and (to compare small things with great) the sympathy I have with you under your losses by the times, — all conspire to urge me on to trouble you with a letter, of little importance indeed to the gentleman to whom it is addressed ; though, if favored with an answer, perhaps of much consequence to myself.

That you resigned your seat at the Board, I wonder not. I sincerely pitied you while you were there, in want of firm health, and under the pressure of a multiplicity of business, with little, very little, aid from any in the same department. The new members who had abilities (excepting Mr. Dana and one or two others), I knew not. Of those who had none, I knew enough. They, no doubt, gave a pretty constant attendance ; while those whose presence was wanted had many avocations. When I heard you were determined to retire, I felt much for the Upper House of Legislature, and for the College, till the public papers announced the choice of my old friend with the scale and compasses from *Newton*, as successor to the first member and the only draughtsman of the Council. I fancy I even now see him, with all his implements, entering, with gigantic steps, the door of the Council Chamber. “*Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii !*”

Pardon me, sir : I will try to be more serious ; the day requires it. The vices of the times and the deplorable state of the currency fill me with dismal apprehensions respecting public affairs.

Have the Congress no plan for reducing the quantity of the circulating medium ? It is now no better than the *wampum* of the savages ; and the solid coin I once was owner of is sadly metamorphosed into this vile trash. Have the *powers that be* the same right to take away *all* my estate, earned by close application in a fair and honest trade, by *rising early and sitting up late and eating the bread of carefulness*,

as they have to take a proportionable part towards defraying the public expense? They have made a sacrifice of all the moneyed men. If this is not *malum in se*, I know not the difference between right and wrong. I agree with good Dr. Chauncey, that it is a *curst thing*.

The sum you had out on loan was vastly greater than mine; your loss, consequently, if your debtors have been as cruelly unjust as mine, is proportionably greater. But your real-estates will, after all, leave you a gentleman of an ample fortune. My real estate is small. I know it is said the war could not have been supported without making the bills a tender in all cases whatever, and therefore it was right. To this I oppose Sacred Writ, which determines it to be wrong to *do evil that good may come of it*. If you see a way to get out of the difficulties we are involved in by means of the currency, mercifully administer a word of comfort to an old friend in his obscure retreat, who, from being cheerful and good-humored, is, by his losses, changed into a surly Grumbletonian, and retains a good opinion of very few besides your Honor.

When I came to this town in the autumn of 1775, it was on a visit to my family, who had left Dedham the preceding spring. I was unwell, and, growing more so after my getting here, I kept house almost the whole of the following winter; nor did I recover any considerable degree of health till the fall of 1776. Then I concluded to return to Dedham; but the small-pox prevailing there, that, and that only, prevented it. Soon afterwards, I purchased the house and little farm where I now am; and do not think of returning till the conclusion of a peace. I have bid a final adieu to public business. The honest freemen of Woodstock last spring elected me their deputy at the General Assembly, and sent to my house a committee, pressing me earnestly to go; but I, as you may reasonably suppose, said, "No, thank'e." I consider myself as a Massachusetts man, and am anxious for the establishment of a good form of government there; when I hope to get back time enough to give my suffrage for you to be the first governor of the first independent State in America; and this I shall do, whether it may be thought that you will or will not accept if chosen.

I rely on your candor, which I have ever experienced, to excuse many things in this letter, which, coming from another who was a stranger to the active, assiduous, and acceptable part you formerly took in the General Court, might be exceptionable.

I hear with pleasure that your health is, in a good measure, re-

stored. I beg the favor of a line, delivered to my friend Captain Bradford, who will forward it by a safe conveyance. I greatly value your judgment. You know I may be trusted.

I am, very respectfully, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL DEXTER.

The Hon. Mr. BOWDOIN.

DECEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, Dec. 11, at twelve o'clock, m.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Bowdoin College; the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York; the Cincinnati Astronomical Society; the Essex Institute; the Society of Antiquaries of London; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; Messrs. Adams, Sampson, and Co.; George Clasbock, Esq.; Rev. Benjamin Dorr, D.D.; William B. Shedd, Esq.; Rev. E. M. P. Wells, D.D.; and from Messrs. Barry, Brigham, Deane, Green, Robbins (C.), Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated a letter from E. H. Talbot, Esq.; which was referred to the Standing Committee.

The President communicated, on behalf of the family and kindred of the late M. Jomard of France, a printed copy of the last communication made by that distinguished *savant* to the Society of Ethnography: where-

upon it was unanimously *voted*, That the President be requested gratefully to acknowledge this mark of attention from the kindred and relations of their late honored foreign associate.

On motion of Mr. PAIGE, *voted*, That the Standing Committee be requested to consider the propriety of placing copies of the Society's publications in the library of Tufts College.

Mr. C. Brooks gave an account of the discovery of several skeletons and other remains of North-American Indians, recently exhumed in Medford, Mass.

*Indian Necropolis in West Medford, Mass.; discovered
Oct. 21, 1862.*

On the farm of Edward Brooks, Esq., in West Medford, Mass., some laborers were moving with an ox-shovel the top soil of land situated about fifteen rods south-west from Mr. Brooks's house, and a short distance south-east from Mystic Pond. After removing about two and a half feet of the earth, the shovel uncovered a human skeleton. Intelligent care was immediately taken by Mr. Francis Brooks, the present occupant of the estate, to secure every bone and whatever was buried with the individual. The skeleton was that of a man lying on his left side, in a horizontal position, the head towards the west, and the knees as near the chin as they could be. The teeth indicate the age of sixty, judging by our Anglo-Saxon types; his height, about five feet eight inches. The bones are in good preservation. Mr. Brooks took them immediately to Professor Agassiz, who has put them together, and deposited them, as a precious specimen, in his wonderful museum of comparative anatomy.

Of the many things buried with the individual, there was found his soap-stone pipe, whose bowl is two inches long, and

three-quarters of an inch wide at its mouth. The stone stem, being of one piece with the bowl, is two and a half inches long; and the copper end, or mouth-piece, three inches long; making its whole length about five and a half inches. The copper is about as thick as a man's thumb-nail, and was beaten or rolled out with great evenness, and then soldered in the position it now occupies. Near the pipe were found the iron head of an arrow, and a stone knife and some hair, matted together. This hair has the length and color of deer's hair; and it may have belonged to his pouch, in which was a substance that now resembles tobacco, and, when burned, revealed its fierce identity in its smoke.

Five skeletons were taken out: one is that of a child. Four were found near together: the other was three or four rods distant. More will probably be found. The teeth in some are so irregularly worn, as to lead us to suppose they had some peculiarly hard work to do.

Within the present century, farmers in Medford have ploughed up stone arrowheads, stone drills, and other Indian articles.

The renowned sachem of the Pawtuckets, *Nanepashemit*, removed from Lynn in 1615, and took up his residence on the bank of Mystic River, where he was killed in 1619. His house was placed on Rock Hill, where he could best watch canoes on the river. Winslow, who visited his burial-place, gives an account of it. The spot could not have been far from the place where these bones have been disinterred; and it may be that the skeleton above mentioned was his. The copper mouth-piece of his pipe must have been too costly for any but a chief; since copper was the only metal worked by Indians in the sixteenth century. The iron was obtained about this time from navigators.

The land from which these bones were taken was purchased in 1660 by Thomas Brooks, who came to New England in 1630. His farm of four hundred acres has been kept in the

families of his descendants in unbroken succession to the present time, with no prospect of a change of owners. No record or tradition of the burial of Indians in our lands exists in our family; and it is therefore concluded, that these bones are those of Indians that have been buried more than two hundred years.

The bones themselves are of the true Indian type, corresponding with those of the pure races now living; and they prove conclusively the great truth, that God has held through all history, and will continue to hold, inviolable, the grand distinctive types of his own creation.

Mr. WILLARD read a paper on the subject of a plan for the general arrangement of the militia of the United States, by General Knox.

A Plan for the General Arrangement of the Militia of the United States. By General Knox.

When the Abbé de Mably seriously entertained the design of writing the history of the American Revolution, and applied to John Adams for any facts or memorials that he could furnish, Mr. Adams set forth in formidable array numerous heads and materials for the proposed undertaking; and expressed so strongly the opinion, that no one, either in Europe or America, was in a condition at that time to write the history, or was possessed of the requisite stores of knowledge, that the Abbé must at once, we should suppose, have been deterred from the great undertaking.

After describing the very abundant though scattered sources of information, to be collected and digested, existing in the charters, commissions, and instructions to governors in the thirteen Colonies; their great bodies of statute-law; their records of legislation; the Plantation-office in London; the offices of the Secretaries of State in the thirteen

Colonies; the public debates; newspapers, printed volumes, both American and European; foreign and domestic correspondence; the records of the town of Boston, of the Committee of Correspondence, of the Massachusetts House of Representatives and Council; the public journals, especially those of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; the pamphlets and gazettes of all the Colonies; the journals of Congress, portions of which are still secret; the new constitutions of the several States; the "Annual Register and Remembrancer;" French and English newspapers, with the Dutch; the correspondence of General Washington with Congress, not published (and no one can write a history of the Revolution till that vast treasure-house is laid open and explored); to say nothing of the offices of the secret committees, those of commerce and foreign affairs, of the treasury, marine, and war; correspondence with our ministers, &c., much still secret; and, joined to all these, the contemporaneous history of the European States, — he added, this "is a work for the longest life, beginning at the age of twenty."

Mr. Adams closes by giving the key to this whole history. There is a general analogy, indeed, in the governments and characters of the thirteen States; but it was not till the debates and the war commenced in Massachusetts Bay, — the principal Province of New England, — that the primitive institutions produced their first effect. Four of these institutions must be thoroughly studied and fully examined by any one who would write understandingly upon the subject; for those institutions have had a decided effect, not only in the first determination of debates in the public councils and the earliest resolutions of forcible resistance, but also in the influence they had upon the other Colonies in furnishing an example for the adoption, more or less, of the same institutions and similar measures. These four institutions are, — first, the towns; second, the churches; third, the schools; and fourth, the militia.

The towns in New England, one with another, are six miles, or two leagues, in extent. The inhabitants are, by law, corporations, or bodies politic, and are invested with certain powers and privileges,—as the repairs of the highways, the support of the poor, the choice of the various town-officers and of representatives to the Legislature,—and with the right of assembling, whenever called together by their officers, to deliberate upon town-affairs, and instruct their representatives. Thus all the inhabitants have acquired, from their infancy, familiarity in discussing, deliberating upon, and judging public affairs. It is in the towns that the sentiments of the people have been first formed, and their resolutions taken, from the beginning to the end of the debates and the war.

The churches are religious societies comprehending the entire people. Each town has one parish and one church. Some few towns have several churches. The minister is supported at public expense. The clergy have but little influence or authority, save what is derived from their personal piety, virtue, and intelligence. They are chosen by the people of their parish, and are ordained by the neighboring clergy. They are all married, and have families, and live with their parishioners on terms of entire intimacy. They attend at funerals and marriages, visit the sick, exercise charity towards the poor, preach twice every Sunday. The least moral stain would destroy their influence, and injure them for all time. They are a wise, virtuous, and pious class. They are jealous friends of liberty.

Schools are established by law in every town. Every town of sixty inhabitants is obliged, under a penalty, to support a school for reading, writing, arithmetic, and the rudiments of the Latin and Greek languages. There are prepared the students for the colleges, which in turn supply the professions and the officers for the government of the country.

The militia comprehend the whole people. Every male

citizen between the ages of sixteen and sixty is enrolled in a company and regiment of the militia. He is obliged to possess, and keep in order, at his own expense, a musket and equipments, with powder and ball, a cartridge-box and haversack, and to be ready at any moment to march for the defence of his country. The regiments are assembled each year for inspection and manœuvres.

Here, sir, you have a slight sketch of that wisdom in council, and that skill and military bravery, which have produced the American Revolution; and which I hope will be sacredly preserved as the foundation of the liberty, happiness, and prosperity of the people.

The Abbé de Mably at this time was seventy-three years old. But though still very vigorous in intellect, and deeply versed in European and general history, he must have shrunk from the entertainment set before him by Mr. Adams. His death, three years afterwards, must have put an end to his purpose of writing a history of the American Revolution, even if it had not been extinguished by Mr. Adams's letter.

Our business is with the militia, which Mr. Adams places among the four great institutions of New England: and not without reason; for in all former time, even from the beginning, it had played a most important part in our system, and was considered, in its department, on an equality with the church and the school.

The organization of the Colonial militia, strictness of discipline, frequency of parades, and careful designation of military titles, all held an important place in the public estimate. With a few exceptions, this arm of service embraced the whole community of competent age. The public necessity that at first required the citizen, to be armed and arranged in train-bands, equally as in any other Commonwealth, continued through the numerous Indian and French wars, and rumors of war, down to the Revolution; so that the whole

people became a constant array of comparatively disciplined soldiers, ready at any moment to answer a summons to the field. And throughout the Revolution, with whatever defects the militia contained, they were a great reliance in support of the contest: beginning with the first shedding of blood on the 19th of April; thence through the well-fought day at Bunker Hill, then the only military force in the country; thence in the campaign against Burgoyne; and so, and onward, through the hundreds of other instances, when they were called to the rescue, they performed services neither to be weighed nor estimated. Again: when in our own beloved Commonwealth, in 1786, the great fountains of the deep seemed to be breaking up, and confusion and anarchy to be taking the place of social order and good government, and when portions of our people, under a temporary delusion and the arts of some designing leaders, had forfeited their loyalty, and joined in the Rebellion, the militia of the healthy districts of the State was the sole dependence, as a military body, to restore law and order. Elsewhere, in subsequent trouble, they have been our safeguard and defence, until the present stupendous Rebellion, involving whole States in its deep infamy.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, a provision for a peace establishment of some kind was a prominent subject of consideration with Congress. The views of General Washington were solicited; and he, as was his wont, sought the opinions of his principal officers. General Knox and Colonel Pickering embraced in their opinions the subject of one or more military academies, the thought of which had been much and early in the mind of Knox; as the expression of that thought is the earliest I find upon record. Nor did his ardor cool, or his interest abate, with the return of peace,—a time when the anti-military fever, and the dread of a standing army, however small, seems to have gained a new access. Nothing looking to that end could be entertained for a moment. The militia was considered sufficient for any and

every venture. Within the scope of public view, there could be no exigency when they would not be adequate to the national defence. General Knox, in a great measure, shared in the opinion of the day ; but then it was with the idea of a militia born out of the Revolution, subjected to strict and compulsory military discipline, insuring its efficiency, and from which, surrounded with guards and accompanied with inducements, there would be neither wish nor opportunity to escape.

A hardy militia of freemen, in his opinion, must be the great security of the United States. In such a body, the ideas of freedom and a generous love of their country would be inherent. They would form the advanced guard for the protection of the country ; and being subjected to the discipline of regular troops, when required by a continuance of hostilities to buckle on their harness and go into the field, they would constitute an effective force for any exigency. To this end, the States should, without delay, take care for the best organization of their militia under one and the same system, to be established by Congress, including the formation of battalions and uniform equipments. One-third of the militia should be in camp from twelve to twenty days, annually, under the most exact military instruction in the principles of war, at the expense of their respective States in all their furnishings, and should be paid for their time while encamped. "Every method," he adds, "should be devised to make the profession of arms honorable ; for which reason, it would be necessary for the first men of the community to attend exhibitions of war, either as officers, soldiers, or spectators. To an enlightened people, arguments are unnecessary to enforce a truth so obvious. This is the moment to form habits which shall give a lustre to the American character. The people universally should be furnished with arms, and know how to use them ;" and so each State should have an arsenal sufficiently furnished with ammunition, camp-equipage, and field-ordnance.

In addition to this militia of the States, the Government of the Confederacy — for it must be remembered that we were then merely a Confederacy, an ill-jointed union of States, with no National Government supreme in its own department, and no power in Congress to deal with the people of the States, but only with the States themselves, by way of recommendation — should make provisions for the garrisons of the harbors, and the defence of our widely extended frontiers. West Point, so important, even vital, to the Union during the war, and justly considered as the “key of the Union,” is equally important for its preservation. The larger military stores and magazines should be continued at that post, with three companies of artillery, one of sappers and miners, and one or two infantry battalions to guard them.

This is the substance of General Knox's views; an outline of such a peace establishment as would suffice for the defence of the country. He evidently believed not in the halcyon days of perpetual peace. War must come in the cycle of the seasons, as sure, if not as frequent; and there can be no safety in a rising State, and with peoples of like passions with ourselves, but in wise preparation to meet it. He insists upon “a perfect knowledge of the principles of war by land and sea,” to be acquired under accomplished professors in military academies, to “form the people either for the State or the field.” Washington, in his circular-letter to the governors,* was very earnest, and dwelt upon the subject as one of the first importance.†

* June 7, 1783.

† In two branches, he felt this very keenly in the threatened war with France, 1798-9. “It is deeply to be lamented,” he says, “that a very precious period of leisure was not improved towards forming among ourselves engineers and artilleryists; and that, owing to this neglect, we are in danger of being overtaken by war, without competent characters of these descriptions. To form them suddenly is impossible. Much previous study and experiment are essential. If possible to avoid it, war ought not to find us wholly unprovided.” — *Sparks's Washington*, xi. 371.

At this time, it was the manifest desire of the country to diminish the remaining portion of the regular army to a mere speck; and, early in 1784, it was reduced to a regiment of infantry of five hundred men, and one hundred and twenty artillery, with their officers: * a force barely sufficient to do guard-duty over the numerous and valuable stores, and keep the works in repair, at West Point and Pittsburg.*

In June, 1784, Colonel Monroe, afterwards President of the United States, anxious "that we should not thoroughly disarm ourselves," as he expresses it, "and leave the military affairs of the Union afloat,"† proposed in Congress that General Knox should retain three hundred and fifty men in service, to take possession of the Western posts when they should be surrendered by the British troops; and that seven hundred men be raised for three years, for the relief of those thus retained for the protection of the frontiers, &c. This proposition was finally lost, and the army of the Revolution substantially dissolved, by directing the commanding officer "to discharge the troops now in the service of the United States, except twenty-five privates to guard the stores at Fort Pitt,‡ and fifty-five to guard the stores at West Point § and other magazines, with an appropriate number of officers; no officer to remain in service above the rank of captain, and those privates to be retained who were enlisted on the best terms:" so suicidal had become the policy of the country. On June 3, Mr. Monroe's proposition was brought up in another form; for it would not answer to leave the Western settlers to the tender mercies of the British troops and their savage allies. Still objections and difficulties were encountered; and it succeeded at length only in the following modified form: viz., to recommend to the States of

* Journals of Congress.

† Letter to General Knox.

‡ Under Captain Doughty, who served under Knox in the Revolution, and was a valuable officer. Knox had a very affectionate regard for him.

§ Commanded by Major Bauman, who also was under Knox in the Revolution.

Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, being the States most conveniently situated, to furnish forthwith seven hundred men from their militia, to serve for twelve months, unless sooner discharged; and to be formed by the Secretary of War into one regiment of eight companies of infantry, and two of artillery; the staff and commissioned officers to be furnished by the several States. So the idea of a peace establishment, with this slight and temporary exception, was fast becoming obsolete, until quickened into new life by the apprehension of Indian hostilities. The martial spirit of the country was also fading away under the delusive idea of perpetual peace. The country was poor; the question of impost still hung in the balance; the means for carrying on the Government, and paying the public creditors, were yet to be provided through the Legislatures of many reluctant States; while the General Congress was wholly powerless. The country, I say, was poor. A long war had exhausted its resources, sweeping off the property of tens of thousands, and leaving but little in the rest of the community, save among speculators and contractors, a greedy class, who fattened amid the general want. No heed was paid to the warnings of prudence and patriotism, to the importance of training a militia by stated service in the field, though we were likely to be again buffeted by our old enemy, and lose the fruits of our hard-earned independence. Every one was wearied with the thought of war, and indolently resigned himself to a heedless condition as to the public defences. Each State might continue or abolish them as they chose. They might have the same, or thirteen different systems, or none at all. But already there were mutterings of trouble; and fears were entertained lest the Western posts, still in possession of the British forces, might not be relinquished without a bloody struggle. In March, 1785, such of the seven hundred troops raised under the resolve of June 3, 1784, as were not in actual service, were ordered to

be discharged. The term of service of the whole would expire in June. In April, 1785, after a delay of some days and various motions, it was resolved to raise seven hundred men in the same States, for the term of three years, unless sooner discharged.

General Knox was appointed to the war-department in the spring of 1785; * succeeding his friend General Lincoln, who was the first Secretary of War under the Confederation; the duties of the office having previously been performed by the Board of War.

On assuming the duties of the office, he found much required of him in a change from a state of war to that of peace; and his quick and practised eye, and his long and intimate knowledge and care of the ordnance-department, enabled him to accomplish those changes with effect. "With all my heart and soul," says Lafayette† in his letter to the new Secretary, "I wish you every kind of success, my good friend. The patriot and the soldier are nobly united in your person. God grant your advice may be adopted!" This doubtless has reference in part to the scheme touching the military defences of the country, which it is reasonable to suppose that the Secretary had communicated to his friend, who was not in a situation to realize the obstacles in the Secretary's path, and the growing apathy of the public in all matters touching the military art.

It was a slow and difficult work to raise the very small force, which, at last, Congress was compelled to raise for the defence of the frontiers. But there was hazard not only relating to the frontiers: questions with England remained unsettled; and that nation was considered not unwilling to effect their solution by force of arms; while we were not

* General Washington wrote to him a letter of congratulation on his appointment. "Without a compliment," said he, "I think a better choice could not have been made."

† May 11, 1786.

guiltless, on our part, in failing to comply with the fourth article of the treaty, which required us to remove every obstacle to the recovery of *bonâ-fide* debts.

No doubt, England was desirous of regaining her possessions in America, the loss of which had filled her with deep mortification. A gentleman in London, writing to the Secretary, says, "It is impossible for a person of the smallest degree of observation to be here, and not perceive how ill disposed these people are towards the independence of America; and that, absurd as it may appear, they entertain a secret hope, that one day she will come under the government of this country again. . . . I am led to suppose, that upon any opportunity or prospect of success, such as *a dispute between the States* or a difference with any other power, a minister inclined to break with America would find many advocates, and all the support of his master and his venal Parliament. Indeed, it is not many days ago that he received a letter from one of his ministers, wherein he says, 'America may be yours;' and he points out a scheme to attain it." The writer represents the refugees as very busy in their daily publications in endeavoring to stir up the elements of strife, and imposing upon the English people in their ignorance of this country. A subsequent age has given point to this letter.

Thus stood the country in the waning days of the Confederation. While, in any sudden emergency, an enemy from abroad might do essential harm before an effective rally for our defence, the bad elements within our borders might, as they soon did, gather in formidable array, threatening the subversion of all government, in a leading Commonwealth.

To meet such dangers, the Secretary saw no way but in the establishment of a trained force of citizen soldiers, armed at all points, and brought to a state of exact discipline, at no former day exemplified in the history of the country. The old system, which, for short terms of service, had once and again

commended itself during the war, was worn out, and gave but little promise, in the listless state of the community, of efficient use in the future.

It was questionable, whether the country would submit to that amount of education and requirement in the military art in the citizen soldier which would supply the place of equal exactions of standing troops. But the essay was worthy of being made; and the Secretary of War had the great experience, and breadth of view, required to shape out a permanent and thorough system, that might serve and save the country in the most emergent occasion.

He was soon called upon by Congress "to devise a plan for the general regulation of the militia of the United States, . . . in order to ground thereon a recommendation relative to this subject to the several States." With such a "recommendation," Congress would exhaust all its power. The States might adopt a uniform system, or any two or more, or thirteen different systems, or wholly reject the proposition, according to the sound or imperfect judgment of each ambitious sovereign of the Confederacy.

The Secretary entered into the measure with his whole heart. He had himself been of the active militia before the Revolution, winning a good name as a skilful and energetic soldier; and thereafter, during the war, the practical workings of the system, its defects and possible remedies, must have been ever present to his thought. In the lapse of time, this subject has assumed a magnitude and importance not originally dreamed of by the public at large; and, it may be, beyond the wise forecast of the Secretary himself.

His report, made to Congress March 18, 1786, is entitled "A Plan for the General Arrangement of the Militia of the United States." He discourses at considerable length, and very earnestly, upon the importance of the subject to the welfare of the people; and evidently fears that peace, and the pursuits of wealth, will induce a forgetfulness of the past.

As no final action seems to have been taken upon the plan, either by Congress or any one of the States, and as it was brought up in a slightly modified form in the first Congress under the Constitution, I will introduce it under that period. Very clearly, it was in advance of the sentiment of 1786, and of the spirit of the people; and I do not know whether it was brought up for consideration and recommendation, or how far it met with favorable notice. Perhaps, however, Dr. Ramsay, of South Carolina, at that time a delegate in Congress from South Carolina, embodied public opinion upon the subject in the following letter; viz.:—

“I have perused your plan for the militia with great pleasure. I only fear that our governments are too relaxed to bear any system which will be attended with so much time and expense. It is so well calculated for defence, that foreigners will not dare to molest us; but it is a query with me, whether our youth would not be so fond of a military life as to be tempted to act offensively against our neighbors.* I think it is excellent in theory; but I fear the supineness of our citizens would make its execution impracticable.”†

Of a surety, the country, that in a tone of apology, through a committee of Congress, spoke of it as a matter of propriety “to keep in service about seven hundred men,”‡ was not ready to recommend to the States a system of such large proportions as the one devised by the Secretary. Dr. Ramsay was certainly right in saying that our governments were “too relaxed” to bear such a system, and, at the same time, right in deeming it an entire safeguard against foreign attacks; but the idea that it would tempt “our youth” to become aggressive, seems visionary. The “plan” could not but fail under the circumstances of the time, and the disordered condition of government. Perhaps a future day, and a more orderly and better compacted administration of affairs, would prove more opportune.

* England and Spain.

† Dr. Ramsay to General Knox, N.Y., March 12, 1786.

‡ Journals of Congress, Feb. 8, 1786.

When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the power over the militia was no longer exclusive with the States to do or neglect at their pleasure; but to Congress was given the power, and hence the duty, to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as should be employed in the service of the United States, while they were to be trained by the respective States according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

This seemed a fit opportunity to place the national defence on a firm foundation, and to make it of the greatest efficiency. General Knox, having been appointed by President Washington the first Secretary of War under the Constitution, addressed himself to the question, how to "devise a national system of defence" adequate to the wants of the country, "whether arising from internal or external causes." It seemed to him that the "plan" that he had carefully matured, and had submitted to the Congress of the Confederation, was, in its entire substance, most suitable to be submitted to the Congress of the Union. Early in the sitting of the first Congress, he presented the "plan" to the President for his approval; it being the same one that he had presented to the Congress of the Confederacy. He had been anxious to prepare a system, of a republican character, that would resist the influences of wealth,—a system in accord with the great principles of liberty, resting on the people themselves, and supported by their habits and manners. The President approved of its general principles; and suggesting some not very material alteration, in part rendered necessary by the adoption of the Constitution,* gave it the sanction of his high authority, and directed him to lay it before Congress.

* By the plan of 1786, the reserved corps was assessed in a certain sum, when the advanced and main corps were called to the field; and the main and reserved corps were required to pay a certain sum annually for the support of the advanced corps in the annual camps of discipline.

In his "Introduction," he takes the ground, "that a well-constituted republic is more favorable to the liberties of society, and its principles give a higher elevation to the human mind, than any other form of government." While this is his postulate, it is conceded that a republic, unless forearmed to meet the exigencies to which all States are exposed, is more precarious than an absolute power: for its measures must be the result of many deliberations; and it cannot at once be placed in an assured posture of defence, unless it has had a previous military organization to that end. Modern governments have been formed by chance, not by system; so that they are braced or relaxed, according as the power of the ruler or the subject gains the ascendancy. No European government of any extent rests upon the people, and exists solely for their benefit. Artificial force predominates everywhere: the many are subject to the few, who are usually too busy in external war, or grappling with internal commotion, or endeavoring to extricate themselves from impending debt, to foster institutions designed to add to the strength, knowledge, and happiness of the many. The present opportunity is invaluable for establishing such institutions as shall invigorate, exalt, and perpetuate the great principle of freedom, — an opportunity pregnant with the fate of millions, but which, when once lost, may never be regained. The United States are in the fortunate condition of being able to commence their career of empire with the accumulated knowledge of all the known societies and governments of the globe.

The strength of the Government will depend on a due adjustment of its several parts: its agriculture, its commerce, its laws, its system of defence, and its manners and habits, all require consideration, and the highest exercise of political wisdom.

It is his intention to suggest the most efficient system of defence which may be compatible with the interest of a free people, — a system which shall not only produce the expected

effect, but which, in its operations, shall also produce those habits and manners which will impart strength and durability to the whole Government.

The modern practice of Europe, with regard to the employment of standing armies, has created a mass of opinion in their favor, so that even philosophers and the advocates for liberty have frequently confessed their use and necessity in certain cases.

But whoever seriously and candidly estimates the power of discipline, and the tendency of military habits, will be constrained to confess, that, whatever may be the efficacy of a standing army in war, it cannot in peace be considered as friendly to the rights of human nature. The recent instance in France cannot with propriety be brought to overturn the general principle built upon the uniform experience of mankind. It may be found, on examining the causes that appear to have influenced the military of France, that, while the springs of power were wound up in the nation to the highest pitch, the discipline of the army was proportionably relaxed.

A small corps of well-disciplined and well-informed artillerymen and engineers, and a legion for the protection of the frontiers and the magazines and arsenals, are all the military establishment which may be required for the present use of the United States; the privates of the corps to be enlisted for a certain period, — after the expiration of which, to return to the mass of citizens.

An energetic national militia is to be regarded as the capital security of a free republic; and not a standing army, forming a distinct class in the community.

Corruption of manners, want of public spirit, effeminacy, indolence, and avarice hail the advent of standing armies. If the United States would avoid them, a well-constituted militia is the only resource, and this in one of two ways: 1st, By educating the entire mass of the young, so that that knowledge may be diffused throughout the whole community; or,

2d, By forming the militia of substitutes, after the manner of Great Britain.

The former will introduce a glorious national spirit, with its extensive train of political consequences. The youth will imbibe a love of their country, reverence and obedience to its laws, courage and elevation of mind, openness and liberality of character, accompanied by a just spirit of honor; in addition to which, their bodies will acquire a robustness greatly conducive to their personal happiness as well as to the defence of the country.

A force thus constituted would be uninjured by events sufficient to overturn a government whose main support was a standing army; . . . rebellions would be prevented, or suppressed with ease; invasions of such a government would be undertaken only by madmen; and the virtues and knowledge of the people would effectually oppose the introduction of tyranny.

The second mode (*viz.*, a militia of substitutes) is pregnant, in a degree, with the mischiefs of a standing army: the substitutes, from time to time, will be nearly the same men, and the most idle and worthless part of the community. Wealthy families, proud of distinctions which riches may confer, will prevent their sons from serving in the militia of substitutes; the plan will fall into contempt, and liberty be deprived of one of its chief securities.

As to the expense of the two systems, whether by rotation or substitution, with equal numbers, the expense would be the same; and the estimate of the expense will show its unimportance, when compared with its benefits. But the people will cheerfully consent to the expenses of a measure of such vast importance to their liberties. The whole community should be educated to a competent knowledge of the military art. This is a fundamental proposition; and this knowledge can only be attained by establishing institutions for the purpose. Every man, of the proper age, and ability of body, is firmly

bound by the social compact to perform *personally* his proportion of military duty for the defence of the State ; and, for this purpose, should be armed, enrolled, and held strictly responsible. Starting thus, he proceeds to unfold—

THE PLAN.

The term of service to extend from eighteen to sixty years of age, and exclusive of such exception as the local legislature may make ; and all actual mariners shall be enrolled for different degrees of military duty, and be divided into three classes.

The first class shall comprehend the youth of eighteen, nineteen, and twenty years of age ; to be denominated the *advanced corps*.

The second class shall include the men from twenty-one to forty-five years of age ; to be denominated the *main corps*.

And the third class, the men from forty-six to sixty years of age ; to be denominated the *reserved corps*.

All the militia of the United States shall assume the form of the *legion*, which shall be the permanent establishment thereof.

A legion shall consist of one hundred and fifty-three commissioned officers, and two thousand eight hundred and eighty non-commissioned officers and privates, formed in the following manner :—

First, THE LEGIONARY STAFF.—One legionary or major general ; two aides-de-camp, of the rank of major, one of whom to be legionary quartermaster ; one inspector, and deputy adjutant-general, of the rank of lieutenant-colonel ; one chaplain.

Second, THE BRIGADE STAFF.—One brigadier-general ; one brigade inspector, to serve as an aide-de-camp.

Third, THE REGIMENTAL STAFF.—One lieutenant-colonel commandant, two majors, one adjutant, one paymaster or agent, one quartermaster.

Fourth, TWO BRIGADES OF INFANTRY. — Each brigade to consist of two regiments; each regiment of eight companies, forming two battalions; each company of a captain, lieutenant, ensign, six sergeants, one drum, one fife, and sixty-four rank and file.

Fifth, TWO COMPANIES OF RIFLEMEN. — Each company to have a captain, lieutenant, ensign, six sergeants, one bugle-horn, one drum, and sixty-four rank and file.

Sixth, A BATTALION OF ARTILLERY, consisting of four companies; each to have a captain, a captain-lieutenant, one lieutenant, six sergeants, twelve artificers, and fifty-two rank and file.

Seventh, A SQUADRON OF CAVALRY, consisting of two troops; each troop to have a captain, two lieutenants, a cornet, six sergeants, one farrier, one saddler, one trumpeter, and sixty-four dragoons.

If any State is insufficient to form a legion, the relative proportions still are to be preserved.

The companies of all the corps shall be divided into *sections* of twelve each; by which division it is proposed to establish one uniform vital principle, which, in peace and war, shall pervade the militia of the United States.

All requisitions for men to form an army, either for State or Federal purposes, shall be furnished by the advanced and main corps by means of sections, to be assessed by the executive or commander-in-chief in each State, according to the proportions directed by the legionary-general. Where the requisition is not made of at least one soldier from each section, he will be furnished by an association of sections or companies. The men are to be taken by draught, unless they volunteer to serve: if by draught, the others are to pay him a sum of money equal to the averaged sum paid in the same legion for volunteer service.

The legionary-general must be responsible to the commander-in-chief of the militia of the State that the men

furnished are according to the description, that they are properly equipped, and that they are marched to the rendezvous as required. Those who are draughted shall not serve more than three years at one time.

The reserved corps, being destined for domestic defence, shall not be obliged to furnish men, excepting in cases of actual invasion or rebellion; and then by means of the sections.

The commissioned officers of the corps shall not be included in the sections, nor in any of its operations.

Every citizen who shall serve his country in the field for the space of one year, either as officer or soldier, shall, if under the age of twenty-one years, be exempted from the service required in the advanced corps. If over twenty-one, then every year of such service in the field shall be estimated as equal to six years' service in the main or reserved corps, unless in case of actual invasion of or rebellion within the State in which he resides. Six years' actual service in the field shall exempt from further demand of service either in the militia or in the field, except in cases of invasion or rebellion.

All actual mariners or seamen shall be registered, and divided into two classes; the first class to consist of those between the ages of sixteen and thirty, inclusive; the second class, of those of the age of thirty-one to forty-five, inclusive: the first class to serve as officer or private mariner, for wages, upon some public armed vessel, or ship-of-war, for three years; but, if not called to serve before he is thirty, he shall be entirely exempt. He shall receive a certificate on parchment, and only be called upon when the services of the entire community are demanded.

The second class is to be called upon for a proportion in those cases to which the first class are unequal. The mariners shall be furnished by sections, as in the land-service.

OF THE ADVANCED CORPS.

They shall be encamped together if practicable, or by legions; which encampment shall be denominated the annual camps of discipline. The youth of eighteen and nineteen years shall be disciplined for thirty days successively in each year; and those of twenty years, for ten days in each year; which shall be the last ten days of the annual encampments,* — the non-commissioned officers and privates receiving no pay during the encampments, but the commissioned officers to receive the pay of the Federal establishment for the time being.

The first day of January shall be the fixed period for all who attain the age of eighteen years in any part or during the course of each year: they are to be sworn to perform personally the required service for three years; also to take the oath of allegiance to the State and to the United States.

The commanding officer or general shall regulate the service, whether in infantry, artillery, or cavalry; after which, no change shall be allowed.

Each individual, on joining, shall receive complete arms and accoutrements; to be returned, under penalty, at his discharge, to the regimental quartermaster. The arms and accoutrements to be marked "M.U.S.," and any sales or purchases of them to be severely punished according to law.

Each man is to receive certain specified clothing, for which he is to be held accountable; and to replace deficiencies during service. The cavalry to be at the expense of their own horses, helmets, and horse-furniture; but to receive forage, swords, pistols, and clothing.

At twenty-one, every individual who has served his term

* In the plan of 1786, the term of service in camp for the youth of the advanced corps was forty-two days a year for three years. No reason is assigned for the change. It is presumed that six weeks annually is the least time that ought to be appropriated by the youth to the acquisition of the military art.

shall receive an honorary certificate on parchment, signed by the legionary-general and inspector. The name is to be fairly registered in a book provided for that purpose.

And the said certificate, or an attested copy of the register, shall be required as an indispensable qualification for exercising any of the rights of a free citizen, until after the age of — years.*

The advanced legions, in all cases of invasion or rebellion, shall, on requisition of lawful authority, march to any place within the United States, and remain embodied, not exceeding a year, to be computed from the time of marching from the regimental parades; and, while in service, to be in pay and all furnishings similar to Federal troops. If the service is short, and not requiring an issue of clothing, an allowance in proportion to the cost of clothing for the Federal soldier is to be made.

If they march under a requisition from the General Government, it is to be at the Government's expense; and at the expense of the State, if by the authority and for the purposes of the State.

When the advanced corps is completed, it will receive one-third part, and discharge one-third part, of its numbers annually. By this arrangement, two-thirds of the corps will, at all times, be considerably disciplined. But, as it will receive only those of eighteen years, it will not be completed until the third year after its institution. Those who have already attained the ages of nineteen and twenty years, will, in the first instance, be enrolled in the main corps.

The officers of each grade shall be divided into three classes; one of which shall be deranged every third year. In the first period of nine years, one-third part will have to

* By the plan of 1786, those who had not served the required term were considered unworthy of public trust or public honors, and were wholly excluded therefrom, without any limitation.

serve three, one-third part six, and one-third part nine years ; but, after the first period, the several classes will serve nine years : all vacancies by derangements or casualties to be immediately filled by new appointments.

The captains and subalterns of the advanced guard shall not be less than twenty-one, nor more than thirty-five, and the field-officers shall not exceed forty-five years of age.

Each company, battalion, and regiment shall have a fixed parade ; and, when embodied, they will march to the rendezvous of the legion.

Each legion must have a chaplain of respectable talents and character, who, besides his religious functions, should impress on the minds of the youth at stated periods, in concise discourses, the eminent advantages of free governments on the happiness of society ; and that such governments can only be supported by the knowledge, spirit, and virtuous conduct of the youth,—to be illustrated by the most conspicuous examples of history.

No amusements should be admitted in camp but those which correspond with war,—the swimming of men and horses, running, wrestling, and such other exercises as shall render the body flexible and vigorous.

The camps should, if possible, be formed near a river, and remote from large cities. The first is necessary for the practice of the manœuvres ; the second, to avoid temptations to vicious indulgence.

The time of the annual encampments shall be divided into set parts, or periods,—the *first* of which shall be occupied in acquiring the air, attitudes, and first principles of a soldier ; the *second*, in learning the manual exercise, and to march individually and in small squads ; the *third* and *fourth*, in exercising and manœuvring in detail and by battalions and regiments. In the *fifth*, the youth of twenty, having been disciplined during the two preceding encampments, are to be included. This period is to be employed in the exercise and

tactics of the legion; or, if more than one, in executing the grand manœuvres of the whole body; marching, attacking, and defending, in various forms, different grounds and positions; in fine, in representing all the real images of war, excepting the effusion of blood.

Each State is to select for itself the season for the annual encampment best suited to the health of the men.

The United States will supply the arms, clothing, rations, artillery, ammunition, forage, straw, tents, camp-equipage, including every requisite for the annual camps of discipline; and also for the pay and subsistence of the legionary officers, and for the following general staff; viz., one inspector-general, one adjutant-general, one quartermaster-general, with a deputy for each State.

The quartermaster-general shall be responsible to the United States for the public property delivered to him for the annual camps of discipline, and his deputy in each State to him.

The deputy-quartermaster to make regular issues of the stores provided by the United States at the commencement of the annual camps of discipline; the returns to be certified by the highest legionary or regimental officer: all the public property to be returned to the State at the end of the camp, to be examined, repaired, and deposited in a magazine to be provided for that purpose in each State.

Corporal punishment is forbidden in these encampments; but, instead thereof, a system of fines and imprisonment shall be substituted.

OF THE MAIN CORPS.

The main legions, consisting of the great majority of the men of the military age, will form the principal defence of the country. They are to form their proportion of an army, whenever required; and, on every sudden occasion to which the advanced corps shall be incompetent, an adequate number

of non-commissioned officers and privates shall be added thereto from the main corps by means of the sections.

The main corps will be perfectly armed in the first instance, and will practise the exercise and manoeuvres four days in each year; and will assemble in their respective districts by companies, battalions, regiments, or legions. In populous places, the regiment must assemble once annually, and the legion once in three years.

When the youth are transferred from the advanced corps, they shall join the flank companies, the cavalry or artillery of the main corps, according to the nature of their former services.

OF THE RESERVED CORPS.

The reserved corps will assemble only twice annually, for the inspection of arms by companies, &c. It will assemble by legions whenever the defence of the State may render it necessary.

Such are the propositions of the plan; to which it may be necessary to add some explanations.

It is a substantial political maxim which requires personal service of all the members of the community for the defence of the State, and is the main pillar of a free government. Yet public convenience may require certain exceptions; as principal magistrates, the clergy and judges, &c. But no measures of national importance should be frustrated for the accommodation of individuals.

The military age has generally commenced at sixteen, and terminated at sixty; but the youth of sixteen are not of sufficiently robust strength to endure the hardships of the field, without injury.

The advanced corps, and annual camps of discipline, are introduced to create an efficient military spirit in the community, and a course of honorable service, which, at the same time, will mould the minds of the young men to a due obedi-

ence to the laws, instruct them in the art of war, and, by the manly exercises of the field, form a race of hardy citizens equal to the dignified task of defending their country.

Only by a course of discipline during nonage can an adequate knowledge of the art of war be attained. The necessary time cannot be afforded at any other period, with so little injury to public or private interests.

The yeomanry in the country, and those of various employments in the towns, are usually apprenticed from fourteen to twenty-one. The master usually receives a large profit, besides being repaid for the trouble of tuition.

This is the time for the State to avail itself of those services which it has a right to demand, and by which it is to be preserved. The passions and affections are then strongly influenced by the splendor of military parade, which will never be lost. The young man will repair with pride and pleasure to the field of exercise; while the head of a family, anxious for its general welfare, . . . will reluctantly quit his domestic duties for any length of time.

The discipline of the encampments will rather strengthen than relax habits of industry, as the youth will be constantly occupied in various military duties. Idleness and dissipation will be regarded as disgraceful, and punished accordingly. The public claims for military service will be too inconsiderable to injure their industry.

As it is proposed that a military education shall be an indispensable qualification of a free citizen, they will not be entitled to any pay: but the officers, being of the main corps, are supposed to have passed through the course of discipline required by the law, and competent to instruct; and therefore should receive compensation while on active duty.

The main corps is instituted to preserve and circulate throughout the community the military discipline acquired in the advanced corps, to arm the people, and fix firmly by practice and habit those forms and maxims which are essential to the life and energy of a free government.

The reserved corps is instituted to provide for home defence, and to enable a greater proportion of the younger and more robust to take the field in case of war.

He estimates the proportion of men of military age, between eighteen and sixty years of age, at four hundred thousand; and deducting seventy-five thousand mariners, Quakers, and State exempts, he places the effective force of the country at three hundred and twenty-five thousand as the available force of the militia. This was on the basis of three millions of whites; and was an under-estimate of the population, as the census of 1790 shows. But this gave a force demonstrating the growing power of the country.

The Secretary enters into a careful estimate of the expense of the advanced guard, say thirty thousand men, in the annual camps of discipline, on each of the first three years, the details of which it is not necessary to give, but making the entire expense of the advanced guard of thirty thousand men \$384,440.

"Thus," says the Secretary, "for a sum less than four hundred thousand dollars annually, which, apportioned on three millions of people, would be little more than *one-eighth of a dollar* each, an energetic republican militia may be durably established, the invaluable principles of liberty secured and perpetuated, and a dignified national fabric erected on the solid foundation of public virtue." As his estimates were made from the largest experience through the war of the Revolution, and his additional experience of several years under the Confederation, they are entitled to great consideration and reliance.

He further says, that "the combination of troops of various descriptions into one body, so as to invest it with the highest and greatest number of powers in every possible situation, has long been a subject of discussion, and difference of opinion; but no other form appears so well to have sustained the criterion of time and severe examination as the Roman legion.

This formidable organization, accommodated to the purposes of modern war, still retains its original energy and superiority. Of the ancients, Polybius and Vegetius have described and given the highest encomiums of the legion. The former, particularly in his comparative view of the advantages and disadvantages of the Macedonian and Roman arms and their respective orders of battles, has left to mankind an instructive and important legacy. Of the moderns, the illustrious Maréchal Saxe has modelled the legion for the use of firearms, and strenuously urges its adoption in preference to any other form; and the respectable and intelligent veteran (Steuben), late inspector-general of the armies of the United States, recommends the adoption of the legion. 'Upon a review,' says he, 'of all the military of Europe, there does not appear to be a single form which could be safely adopted by the United States. They are unexceptionably different from each other; and, like all other human institutions, seem to have started as much out of accident as design. The local situation of the country, the spirit of the government, the character of the nation, and, in many instances, the character of the prince, have all had their influence in settling the foundation and discipline of their respective troops, and render it impossible that we should take either as a model. The legion alone has not been adopted by any; and yet I am confident in asserting, that whether it be examined as applicable to all countries, or as it may immediately apply to the existing or probable necessities of this, it will be found strikingly superior to any other.'

"First, being a complete and little army of itself, it is ready to begin its operations on the shortest notice or slightest alarm; second, having all the component parts of the largest army of any possible description, it is prepared to meet every species of war that may present itself; and third, as in every case of detachment, the first constitutional principle will be preserved, and the embarrassments of draughting

and detail, which, in armies differently framed, too often distract the commanding officer, will be avoided.

“ . . . In forming a legion, the most difficult task is to determine the necessary proportion of each species of soldiers which is to compose it. This must obviously depend upon what will be the theatre and what the style of the war. On the plains of Poland, whole brigades of cavalry would be necessary against every enemy; but in the forest, and among the hills of America, a single regiment would be more than sufficient against any; and as there are but two kinds of war to which we are much exposed (viz., an attack from the sea-side by a European power, aided by our sworn enemies settled on our extreme left, and an invasion of our back settlements by an Indian enemy), it follows, of course, that musketeers and light-infantry should make the greatest part of your army. This was the opinion of the old veteran.

“The institution of the section,” continues the Secretary, “is intended to interest the patriotism and pride of every individual in the militia, . . . to render every man active in the public cause, by introducing the spirit of emulation and a degree of personal responsibility.”

He objects to the common mode of recruiting, as injurious to public morals, and filling the army with unprincipled men but too frequently. “Such men either desert in time of danger; or are ever ready, on the slightest disgust, to turn their arms against their country.”

“By the establishment of the sections, an ample and permanent source is opened” for the defence of the State “in every exigence. Their previous discipline will enable them to rally at once to the summons of their country, without wasting whole years in preparing to face the enemy.”

. . . “The annual encampments . . . will be an excellent preparation for war.” Now is the time to establish among ourselves the manufacture of artillery, arms, ammunition, and all else belonging to a state of war; for it would be unworthy

of a free people to depend upon a foreign, perhaps accidental supply. The same remark applies equally to the clothing for the troops.

The protection of the commerce of the United States demands a navy, which might easily be furnished with experienced men, trained on board merchant-ships, whose discipline very nearly resembles that of the public armed ships, while the discipline of the soldier is a work of much time and labor.

All that would seem necessary would be to keep a careful register of all actual seamen of the required ages, when wanted for service.

"The wisdom of the States will be manifested by inducing those citizens, of whom the late American army was composed, to accept of appointments in the militia. The high degree of military knowledge which they possess was acquired at too great a price, and is too precious, to be buried in oblivion: it ought to be cherished, and rendered permanently beneficial to the community."

This "plan" will be of no worth unless the laws are adequate and are rigidly enforced. If wealth should be permitted to purchase an exemption from personal service, the plan would have no value. If society has its charms, it has its indispensable obligations; and to "exonerate the members of the community from all personal service, is to render them incapable of the exercise, and unworthy of the characters of free men."

The State has a right to the personal service of its members, and the right to regulate them. "All being bound, none can complain of injustice on being obliged to perform his equal proportion. Therefore it ought to be a permanent rule, that those who in youth decline, or refuse to subject themselves to, the course of military education established by the laws, should be considered as unworthy of public trust or public honors, and be excluded therefrom accordingly."

He concludes by saying, "If the majesty of the laws should be preserved inviolate in this respect, the operations of the proposed plan would foster a glorious public spirit, infuse the principles of energy and stability into the body politic, and give a high degree of political splendor to the national character."*

After the plan was matured by the Secretary, and just before it was produced to the public, Rev. Dr. Mason † of New York, who, I suppose, had been in communication with him, wrote to the Secretary, and expressed his opinion, entertained for several years, that no plan for the militia would be effectual "which did not include the training of boys between the ninth and eighteenth years of their age;" and that, after a certain time, no schoolmaster should be allowed to keep school, who was not competent "to instruct his male pupils, with great exactness, in the rudiments of military art." He would place the master under a penal bond to devote a half-hour each day for the purpose; and, after leaving school, the parent or master should be compelled to provide for their attending some training-master, appointed by authority, as often as deemed proper, until the nineteenth year of their age. This he submits to the General's consideration, and thinks that it "would in a short time produce a nation of soldiers, make all the parts of the plan more easy and successful, save immense expense." A military academy also deserves attention. The General‡ thought the Doctor's idea of an early military education a solid one, but that the habits of life of our people were such as to incapacitate them from any

* This resembles, in some measure, the *landwehr*, or national militia, of Prussia, where every citizen is by law a soldier, and liable to serve for a certain time in the regular army; after which, he enters the militia. The members of the younger class are required to drill during a few weeks in each year, and those of the second class act as a home guard in case of a foreign invasion. These latter are called by the expressive name of *landsturm* (land-storm).

† Jan. 27, 1790.

‡ Feb. 10, 1790.

establishment but those to be purchased with money. The subject of military education he has had under consideration.

He sought the opinion of his excellent and trusty friend General Lincoln, which he knew would be sound and weighty.* "Tell me sincerely, my dear friend," said he: "is the project of the militia, herewith enclosed, a Utopian plan? If I am not acting under a delusion, as sure as we exist as a republic, we must have a strong institution of the sort, or we shall have a standing army, which I should exceedingly dislike, unless I commanded it; for I am forcibly impressed with the opinion, that, under the influence of a standing army, the glory of our country would pass away like snow before a summer sun."

"I have,"† says General Lincoln in answer, "attentively read over and over again your proposed system for regulating the militia of the United States. I am now *sincerely* to give you *my opinion* on the subject. I think it has in it great merit, and it will at once evince your close application and strength of mind; and that, if cordially embraced, it would make ours the strongest militia in the world. The people will not, however, adopt it here, if I know Massachusetts. The expense, pay of officers (no pay of men), the burthen on masters, calling the youth indiscriminately disfranchised for a time, in certain cases, officers excluded from actual service, subjection to a draught for a service of three years, &c., will be magnified here, and damn the bill."

Major Shaw,‡ aide to the General during the Revolution, hopes that the plan will be received by the country in such a manner as to fully compensate him for the time and trouble it has cost him.

A gentleman § in Boston, who had paid some considerable attention to military matters, says, "Your plan, I think, is a masterly system for the national defence."

* Jan. 31, 1790.

† Feb. 12, 1790.

‡ Feb. 9, 1790.

§ Feb. 20, 1790.

The learned Vanderkemp,* who had sought an asylum in this country two years before, and who, with his family, had been welcomed by General Knox on his arrival, and had received the hospitality of the General's house, entered heartily into the "plan;" but thought, as a necessary accompaniment, there should be a military academy, which he would have established at the seat of Government, to instruct selected youths of the advanced corps in military science and its cognate branches. He closes with wishing "that all of the General's endeavors for the benefit of this blessed country may be crowned with success."

29th March, 1790, General Miranda also commends it "as the best form we can adopt." In a subsequent letter from London, he adds, "General Melvill, and some other professional men here that have considered the same subject, admired your plan very much; and I perfectly agree with you, that the form of the Roman legion is infinitely superior to any other organization or military arrangement we know yet."

Feb. 21, 1790. — "Your plan for the militia," writes General Jackson from Boston, "is not very well received here; although every one speaks highly of it, . . . and confesses that it is a masterly performance, and discovers great genius and knowledge in military arrangements."

These various testimonies in favor of the "plan" are gathered from the broken remains of the Secretary's correspondence, and show the high appreciation of his efforts to constitute a national defence both safe and salutary. The Constitution of the United States having been adopted, the power over the militia was no longer exclusive with the States to do or neglect at their pleasure: but it became the imperative duty of Congress to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such

* March 12, 1790.

part of them as should be employed in the service of the United States; while they were to be trained by the respective States according to the discipline prescribed by Congress. There was no room for neglect on their part in devising an effectual protection for the country in every time of trouble.

However excellent any plan may have been in theory and probable practical efficiency, Congress was not then in a mood to adopt it: for party wrangles, though then far from being at the height which they afterwards attained, were beginning to show themselves, to the injury of public measures; and no disposition existed to handle this question with thoroughness. "I know," said a member of the House, "it is the policy of the day to make the militia odious; but I hope such policy will not be adopted by this House." *

The Secretary's plan was referred to the Committee of the Whole House. It was a radical and complete change in the militia system that was proposed and struck out by the plan; requiring large comprehension of the permanent wants of the country, a grasp equal to that which originated it, and a boldness and daring to meet it, and overcome the cavils of timidity, the alarmists of expense and of novelty, and the sluggishness of those who would postpone to a future day whatever was not required to meet an immediate or early occasion. The Committee of the Whole was soon discharged from the consideration of the grave subject; and it was referred to the Committee on National Defence, where it could be carefully considered, matured, and shaped and modified, should the country not be prepared for this great measure or an equivalent. Mr. Boudinot, from that Committee, reported a bill in December, 1790. But still Congress was not ready at once to decide upon a matter of such pith and moment. How could it best be provided, and

* Dec. 22, 1790. — *Gales and Seaton's Debates*, p. 1869.

be made an efficient system, regarding the safety of the State and individual rights, had all to be wisely considered, and a growing public sentiment, adverse to a stringent system, to be met and overcome. Debate was frequent, and ran much into detail, and delays intervened; and few seemed to comprehend the great want in its entire breadth: so that nothing effectual could be obtained to make a nation of citizen-soldiers thoroughly trained for military duty. A service of four days in a year was thought by many oppressive: indeed, an effort was made to reduce the whole service of the militia-men to one day in each year.

It was not until May, 1792, that the various views of the country were brought into some good degree of harmony, and that a law was passed which became the basis of all State legislation on the subject; though, subsequently, alterations were proposed "for a select corps of militia to be enrolled, to be officered by the State."* The law of 1792 seems unhappily to have settled the policy of the United States as one not of service, but of service *or* its equivalent; a sum of money, of small amount, from each individual, of whatever condition, purchasing an entire exemption from military service. Thus the system has operated, in some measure, like the English system of substitutes, before mentioned; and thus the system of equivalents finally issued in breaking down the national militia, without providing any thing adequate in its place. A system of equivalents like this — if, indeed, any system of equivalents could — will never insure a nation of soldiers. General Knox had early conceived, and, without question or doubt even, continued to entertain, the principle, as he expressed it in the plan, that every man of the proper age, and ability of body, is firmly bound to perform *personally* his proportion of military duty for the defence of the State. Conceive of the various advan-

* March 24, 1794.

tages to be derived from personal service. "A glorious national spirit," says General Knox, warming with his subject, "will be introduced, with its extensive train of political consequences. The youth will imbibe a love of their country, reverence and obedience to its laws, courage and elevation of mind, openness and liberality of character, accompanied by a just spirit of honor; in addition to which, their bodies will acquire a robustness greatly conducive to their personal happiness as well as the defence of their country." Personal service, and nothing but personal service, through all future time, can answer the great end. All short of this will be sure to degenerate. With this he wisely couples a provision in relation to the elective franchise; viz., that a certificate of service in the advanced corps, signed by the legionary general and inspector, "shall be required as an indispensable qualification for exercising any of the rights of a free citizen until after the age of — years."

This proposed plan may not be perfect. It had the approbation of wise and thoughtful men; and it had the approval of President Washington, who had long known the views of General Knox, and no doubt had often discussed with him its general principles. There may be some defects in detail; some modifications that might have been brought out on further comparison, reflection, and discussion. If it seemed too exacting in some respects, what, after all, was it to the immense results to be obtained? and how trifling the amount of service to be rendered for the good of the whole! Here would have been an ever-ready, disciplined force, drawn from the body of the community, to be put into the field, whether against a foreign or domestic foe.

Our young men would have developed more vigorous and manly forms of beauty; the pursuits of trade, the intense greed of gain, might have been somewhat modified by another interest intervening in the forming period of life; while the era of club-life, with its concomitants, the age of poodles,

shows, shams, and conventionalism, of the hollow and false, of late and mercenary marriage, marking the declining day of the Republic, would have been spared. The real life we have begun to lead, inaugurated in 1861, is a standing protest against much in the past that we can no longer regard with complacency.

Personal service, from which there could be no escape, and, as a correlative, the enjoyment of the elective franchise, had these great principles been profoundly apprehended in their full extent, and have entered into the life of the nation, in this or some like plan, at least of proportions as large as this, once and again proposed by Henry Knox, we should have had, at the outset of this most foul and stupendous Rebellion, a potential force to meet and crush the treason when it first raised its guilty head,—if, indeed, Rebellion itself had been possible.

The Rebellion which pervaded the western parts of the State of Pennsylvania, and had its adherents in other parts of that Commonwealth and in other States, proved too strong for the local magistracy: the judiciary was set at naught, and the officers of Government were obliged to flee for their lives. These were, in Washington's language, "the first ripe fruits of the Democratic societies" which grew out of the French Revolution. This formidable Rebellion having finally been suppressed through the intervention of the militia called in from the neighboring States, it seemed now a fitting time to again call the attention of Congress to the militia, and point out the defects in the laws upon that subject.

The letter and report of General Knox upon the difficulties and inconveniences which had occurred in the execution of that act were referred to a committee to report upon them. Among other things, the militia were required to arm and equip themselves at their own expense: but there was no penalty to enforce the injunction; nor could the requisite

number of arms be obtained in any reasonable period. He estimated the militia between the ages of eighteen and forty-five at about four hundred and fifty thousand; of whom perhaps a hundred thousand were armed. The condition of Europe at this juncture prevented the supplies needed; and the only solid recourse was to extend manufactures in the several States. Merely to arm the militia lately called (*viz.*, fifteen thousand), ten thousand arms have been issued from the public arsenals. Nor was there any adequate provision for securing the obedience of the militia to the call of the United-States Executive. The law should contain within itself all the necessary provisions for its own execution.

After stating the various imperfections of the system, and probably having abandoned the expectation of any heed to his long-cherished idea, he submitted it to the consideration of Congress, whether it were better to amend the existing law, or to make provision for a select corps on the principle of rotation, or otherwise.

Thus, from the end of the Revolution to the close of his official term, he had continued to labor diligently for an effective citizen-soldiery: but neither the uncertain state of the times, — clouds in the Eastern and Western horizons, — nor a wise and projecting view into the future, was sufficient to overcome the apathy and torpor that had settled upon the mind of the country; and, though more than two years had passed since the enactment of 1792, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Georgia were the only States which had made returns of their respective militia, as required by law.

Washington had urged, and, in his department, General Knox had urged, upon Congress the vast importance of turning the military knowledge which had been acquired at costly sacrifice in the war of the Revolution to good purpose, for the service of the country, in the discipline of the soldier in time of peace, ere time and death should be too busy

among the array of officers, and the opportunity be for ever lost; but it met with no adequate response.

After the war of 1812, the militia fell into gradual and general decay. It was kept alive in some of the States, but in part only, by small, organized corps, more or less disciplined; but the very fact of their existence led them to be considered as a substitute for the entire large body, and the sole dependence on any occasion calling for a military power. The soldier was getting to be thought out of place in our busy, peaceful community; even to the extent of being considered, as one eminent divine expressed it, "the last harlequin that has come down to us from the middle ages." "Strange as it may be," says General Sumner, writing to the elder President Adams in 1823, "sentiments are openly propagated, respecting the militia, which no man who valued his popularity would have dared to express even five years ago."* Many can remember the fast-ebbing tide at that day, and the general disregard, culminating in sentiments like that of the divine I have just mentioned. The hereditary regard for the institution had well-nigh become a matter of the past; and perhaps many, too, might be obliged to say, if pressed, that they are not guiltless of having entertained the lowest possible estimate of the militia of the country. The present Rebellion is calling public attention to the subject in the most searching manner; nor will it rest till this great arm of national defence, this preventive and cure, regain its rightful position. "These American States," said John Adams to General Sumner, "have owed their existence to the militia for more than two hundred years. Neither

* This letter is one of great length, and contains many valuable suggestions. General Sumner was an enthusiast in the matter of the militia, especially that of Massachusetts, in which he had been versed through a series of years; and fully believed what had been said of it, that "its spirit and drill were as much superior to that of most other parts of the country as the value of its specie currency was above their unredeemed bills."

schools nor colleges nor town-meetings have been more essential to the formation and character of the nation than the militia. . . . Improve its constitution by every prudent means ; but never destroy its universality. A select militia will soon become a standing army or a corps of Manchester cavalry. . . . Whenever the militia comes to an end, or is despised or neglected, I shall consider the Union dissolved, and the liberties of North America lost for ever." Without subscribing to his notion of danger from a select militia, he is wholly right in looking to "its universality" as our great safeguard.

Every patriot must hope that the day of "its universality," its universal organization, will re-appear ; and that soon provision will be made for personal service, in connection with the elective franchise, resembling, in those important particulars, the plan of Knox, in whatever other particulars they may vary from it. For if the old system is restored, and failure to perform military duty is to be commuted by a fine, there will be the same unvarying round of neglect ; and, after the excitement of the present day subsides, the old process of decay will soon follow.

In Massachusetts, at the last session of the Legislature, the Governor, with wise forecast, called the attention of the House and Senate to the importance of a military education, both in the militia and in the earlier training of the seminaries of learning ; and favored the establishment of a school within the State, under the charge of military professors. Congress, it was hoped, would adopt a plan for the nation, requiring all men within certain ages to perform military duty. It was not done ; but the proposition, it may be, is gaining favor in state and nation, ready to be put into some tangible shape during the present winter.

Mr. WATERSTON presented, from Mr. Thomas Groom, an original stamp, issued under the Stamp Act.

The same gentleman also presented, from Mr. William C. Nell, the standard, noticed in the record of the August meeting, which was presented by Governor Hancock to the company of colored soldiers called "the Bucks of America."

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Nell and Mr. Groom for their donations to the cabinet.

Mr. DEANE made the following communication : —

The Light shed upon Cotton Mather's "Magnalia" by his Diary.

Turning over the leaves, a few years since, of the then recently recovered portion of Cotton Mather's manuscript diary, I noticed some references to his most celebrated work, the "Magnalia Christi Americana," and was curious to see if that singular record would shed any light upon the preparation of that equally singular book. My search, which was extended through the whole of the diary in the possession of the Society, was rewarded, though not to the extent that I had hoped. I have copied the passages referred to; and with your leave, Mr. President, will read them, or a portion of them, to the meeting.

I will premise by saying, that whatever opinion we may entertain of Cotton Mather, or whatever estimate we may place upon his "Magnalia" as a work of history, the book will always be regarded as an object of interest to readers of early New-England literature; and copies of the first edition, particularly the large paper copies, — of which this Society has one, — will continue to be more and more sought for by bibliographers as time rolls on: indeed, they command a very high price in the market at the present time. And, in an historical point of view, I do not hesitate to say, that we

cannot afford to part with the "Magnalia." It contains an amount of material relating to the early settlement of New England which we find nowhere else; unless for a portion of it, indeed, we may search in those earlier publications of Mather, subsequently incorporated into his great work. We are indebted to the "Magnalia" for the preservation of that most admirable letter (or a fragment of it) of Governor Winthrop to his son, afterwards Governor of Connecticut, which the learned editor of Winthrop's Journal, out of the fulness of his love for Governor Winthrop and whatever relates to him and his family, says he considers "the most valuable part of the 'Magnalia'" (Winthrop, i. 64).

We learn from this diary when Mather began his "Magnalia," when he completed it, when he packed it up to be sent to London to be published, his anxieties concerning it while upon the water, and his prayers that it might be ushered into the world under favorable auspices, and be the means of great good to the cause of "evangelical truth."

An error was very early promulgated as to the time when Mather commenced this work. The eccentric John Dunton, of London, who spent eight months in Boston and its neighborhood in 1686, in the account of his visit, in his book styled the "Life and Errors of John Dunton," &c., published in the year 1705,—three years after the "Magnalia" was published,—says, "The Rev. Cotton Mather was then upon finishing his 'Magnalia Christi Americana,' which has lately been published here in England." I had for some time supposed this to be one of Dunton's "errors." It was no doubt an afterthought of his: it may have been a conjecture. The "Magnalia" had become a famous book, and its author or compiler a famous man, when Dunton published his "Life and Errors;" and he perhaps thought he was not hitting very wide of the mark to put into his book, that this celebrated work was in progress while he was here. He says, "Mather was then upon finishing" it. The statement seemed improbable, for the reason

that Mather was at that time but *twenty-three* years of age; too young, by far, with the duties which for two years had been pressing upon him, to warrant the belief that any considerable progress could have been made in a work of this magnitude. Besides, the statement is inconsistent with the "General Introduction" to the "*Magnalia*," in which the author says that little more "than two years had rolled away" (he probably should have said *three*) since he began it. The Introduction bears no date: but the inference was a fair one, that it was written about the time that Higginson's "*Attestation*" was written, which bears date "25th of the first month, 1697;" i.e., 25th of March.* Mather probably intended at this time to bring his work to a close; but he continued to add to it for a year or two to come. Events are there related as late as Jan. 14, 1698-9.

In the summer of 1693, Cotton Mather writes in his diary:—

"And because I foresaw an inexpressible deal of service like to be thereby done for the *church of God* [alluding to the preceding part of the record], not only *here* but abroad in *Europe*, especially at the approaching *Reformation*, I formed a design to endeavor THE CHURCH HISTORY of the Country. Laying my design before the neighboring ministers, they encouraged it; and accordingly I set myself to cry mightily unto the Lord, that, if my *undertaking* herein might be for his glory, he would grant me his countenance and assistance in it."†

"[However, I did not actually begin the work till the latter end of the year.]"

The 20th of August, 1697, he "set apart for the exercises of a secret thanksgiving before the Lord."

"But one special article of my thanksgivings this day was, the singular favor of the Lord unto me in upholding and assisting of me to

* It now appears from his diary, that the Introduction was written as early as August, 1697; at least, the extract from it there given appears under date of Aug. 20 of that year.

† In printing these extracts, the abbreviated words of the MS. are given at length, and the orthography made to conform to modern usage.

finish my 'Church History.' And now, because it will more particularly express the favor of Heaven unto me in this matter, I will, in this place, transcribe a few lines in my Introduction to that history."*

More than four pages of his diary are taken up with this quotation. Under date 27th of November following, he writes:—

"I did, at the close of the day, prostrate on my study-floor, joyfully receive these assurances from Heaven;" among which was, "That there are good news coming to me from England, and such particularly as will give me encouragement about the future publication of my 'Church History.'"

A few leaves further on, he writes,—

"On 7d. 11m. [January 1697-8], arrives to me a book in folio, this year published in London, which professes itself to be a collection of *Remarkable Providences*. I find myself often quoted in this book,—yea, very often; and very large paragraphs from several books of mine transcribed into it. And I find the names and lives of nonconformists therein much magnified, though the book be written by a conformist. This gives me a very encouraging prospect that the publication of my 'Church History' may now be seasonable. And the restoration of peace makes a more easy passage for it into Europe. Yea, to my surprise, I find an advertisement of it at the end of the book which thus arrived unto me. Behold the faith, which irradiated me the last November, answered!"

On the 12th January, he records,—

"I set apart this day for the exercise of a secret fast before the Lord. One special design of my supplications was to obtain the direction of Heaven about my 'Church History,' the time and way of my sending it into Europe, and the methods of its publication. I think I am assured that my supplications are heard in this matter."

* In 1695, Cotton Mather published a small 12mo book, entitled "Johannes in Eremo," &c.; being Memoirs of Cotton, Norton, Wilson, and Davenport,—four Johns. The book also embraced a Memoir of Thomas Hooker. In this book (the most of which was afterwards incorporated into his great work), Mather published a sort of prospectus of his "Magnalia," or "Church History of New England," as he called it. He gave what he called "A Scheme of the Whole Work."

On the 4th of March, 1697-8, he makes the following entry:—

“In the close of the day, as I lay prostrate on my study-floor, in the dust, before the Lord, the *Spirit* and the *Angel* of the Lord came nigh unto me, and, so as I cannot utter, assured me, *that I shall serve my Lord Jesus Christ yet exceedingly*; and more particularly, that I am quickly to do a *special service* of great consequence for the name of my Lord Jesus Christ, which, as yet, I know not what it is.

“And putting those two composures, my ‘Church History’ and my ‘Confirmed Christian,’ into the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, it was told me from heaven that they shall be carried safe to England, and there employed for the service of my glorious Lord.”

The 8th day of June, 1700, he set apart for prayer with fasting in his study,—

“Especially on two occasions. First, I this day put up my ‘Church History,’ and pen down directions about the publishing of it. It is a work of near three hundred sheets, and has lain by me divers years, for want of a fit opportunity to send it. A gentleman just now sailing for England undertakes the care of it; and by his hand I send it for London. O my Lord Jesus Christ, let thy good angels accompany it.”

The 6th of July was set apart for fasting and prayer.

“And on this day, besides the other matters of prayer, I had this to insist upon: That my ‘Church History,’ now upon the waters, may be preserved, prospered, accepted, and serviceable among the churches of the Lord.”

On the 20th of July, he again committed into the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ his “Church History.”

A few days after, the same blessing was again craved on his “‘Church History,’ gone to England.”

On the 5th of October, he says,—

“Moreover, the concern of my ‘Church History,’ that it may be *published and accepted* among the churches of the Lord, and that I may not be so exceeding *unhappy* as to lose the vast pains I have taken in composing it, lies at this time very much upon my heart. I

carry this concern unto the Lord with my daily cries ; and on this day I particularly do so. I implore that my work may be *sprinkled with the blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that so the Lord may make use of it for the advantage of His evangelical interests, which I have therein consulted, through his assistance, with a great variety of exquisite and curious contrivance. I submit unto the *just* and *wise* will of Heaven, if the Lord will make no use of these my poor labors among his people ; for He knows what will do *most good*, and I am not worthy to do *any good*. My distressed mind keeps in *agonies* before the Lord, pleading abundance of things before him, with the exercise of such graces as are proper on this occasion. This I do, until I think, at last, it is told me from heaven, that my 'Church History' shall be made serviceable unto the churches of the Lord."

On the 12th of December, he records that he received —

"Letters from England, full of encouragement concerning the hopeful circumstances of my 'Church History.'"

The 10th of May, 1701, he set apart "for the duties of a secret fast," and —

"Was not without some comfortable tokens of the Lord's presence," "especially when I was committing into his hands my 'Church History,' now in London."

A memorandum, under date of 6th June, says, —

"The Lord supports and comforts my faith about my 'Church History.'"

And on the 13th of June, he records : * —

"This day, I received letters from London, which give me still to see that *faith* is no *fancy*. My 'Church History' is a bulky thing of above two hundred and fifty sheets. The impression will cost about six hundred pounds. The booksellers in London are cold about it. The proposals for *subscriptions* are of an uncertain and a tedious event.

"But behold what my friend *Mr. Bromfield* writes me from London, March 28, 1701. There is one *Mr. Robert Hackshaw*, a very

* The passage given under this date was printed by Mr. Peabody in his Memoir of Cotton Mather, in Sparks's American Biography.

serious and godly man, who proposes to print the 'Ecclesiastical History of New England,' which you intrusted me withal. He is willing to print it at his own charge, and give you as many books (I believe) as you desire. When he proposed it to me, I told him, '*Sir, God has answered Mr. Mather's prayers.*' He declared he did it not with any expectation of gain to himself, but for the glory of God, and that he might be a means to midwife so good a work into the world; and, did you know him so well as I do, you would believe him."

On the 27th of September of this year, he writes:—

"And this day I obtained from the Lord great persuasions and assurances of his blessing upon my 'Church History' (the publication whereof has been unhappily clogged by some dispositions of the gentleman to whom I first sent it)."

The 3d of October of this year, he set apart for a secret thanksgiving; among other things, for—

"The Lord's carrying over my 'Church History' safely into England, after he had helped me to compose that, and many other works which he has accepted, and ordered to be published, and given hope for the publication of that also."

The 25th of the same month was set apart for fasting and prayer for many occasions:—

"But one upon which I particularly insisted in my supplications was to ask for a blessing of God upon my 'Church History,' now in London; and I think the Lord favored me with the consolations of a *particular faith* for the blessing which I desired of him."

On the 6th of December of this year, he records:—

"I enjoyed something of the Divine presence with me this day; and this especially, when I did, in a prayer peculiarly for that purpose, address the Lord for his blessing on my 'Church History,' my faith used a great variety of argument in pleading with the Lord, that the 'History,' which He has helped me to write of his glorious works in these American churches, might not be lost, but be preserved and published and prospered, and find acceptance among His people. It will be so! I have prevailed! I have prevailed!"

The 20th of the same month he records as a day of prayer, —

"Especially to obtain a blessing on my 'Church History.'"

On the 17th of January, 1701-2, he says, —

"And the Lord raises my faith concerning my 'Church History' to a considerable elevation and satisfaction."

On the 31st, he "was again before the Lord: " —

"When I was this day carrying my 'Church History' before the Lord, confessing the *sins* of it, and all my *other sins*, by which I have rendered myself worthy, that *it* and I too should be a *castaway*; but, applying to the *blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ for the pardon of all my sins (which blood being sprinkled on my poor work, the destroyer shall not come at it), I received a wonderful *assurance* from heaven, that the Lord will accept this work, and that his *providence* will wonderfully appear in and for the publication of it. My *assurance* cast me into floods of tears; and I resolved that I would be wholly for the Lord, who has thus *heard the voice of my supplications*."

During the 12th month (February), 1701-2, he says, —

"All that I have here to add is, that, when I am committing my 'Church History' (which great work runs great hazards of miscarrying) into the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, I receive wonderful assurances (I think I know) from heaven, that the Lord will accept it, and preserve it, and publish it, and that it shall not be lost. An heavenly *afflatus* causes me sometimes to fall into tears of joy, assured that the Lord has heard my supplications about this matter. And now, its having been thus long delayed, and obstructed and clogged, proves but an opportunity for that prayer and faith, and for those experiences, which, if I had gone without, the publication of that book would not have proved near so sweet a mercy to me.

But if it should miscarry after all, O my God, my God! what confusion would ensue upon me!"

Under date of "4d. 1m.," March, he records: —

"I thought it proper to set apart this day for prayer with fasting, in my study, before the Lord. I had many occasions to do so. One occasion was this: The Lord hitherto keeps me ignorant what becomes

of my 'Church History;' a point of extraordinary concernment unto me. We are now expecting ships from London; and I desire, in a way of the most solemn humiliation, to be preparing for what advice may be coming unto me. I keep submitting and resigning this weighty matter unto the Lord, and consenting unto so humbling a trial as the loss of my 'Church History,' if the Lord shall order me to be tried with so severe an exercise. But, behold, the Lord from heaven assures me, that my 'Church History' shall not be lost."

Under date of 4th of next month, April, 1702, he records:—

"I was in much distress upon my spirit concerning my 'Church History,' and some other elaborate composures, that I have sent unto London; about the progress towards the publication whereof the Lord still keeps me in the dark. To have those composures, with all my labors and prayers about them, lost, would be a terrible trial to me. But I thought it my duty to prepare for such a trial. Wherefore I set apart a *vigil* this night peculiarly for that service.

"Accordingly, in the dead of the night, I first sang some agreeable *psalms*; and then, casting myself prostrate into the dust, on my study-floor, before the Lord, I confessed unto him the sins for which he might justly reject me and all my services; and I promised unto him, that if He would reject those particular services, which I have been laboring to do for His name, in my 'Church History,' and some other composures now in England, though my calamity therein would be very sensible, yet I would with His help submit patiently unto His holy will therein; and I would not be discouraged thereby at all from further endeavors to serve my Lord Jesus Christ, but I would love him still, and seek him still, and serve him still, and never be weary of doing so, but essay to serve him in other ways, if he would not accept of these. Thus did I resign unto the Lord; who thereupon answered me, that He was my Father, and that He took delight in me, and that He would smile upon my endeavors to serve Him, and that my 'Church History' should be accepted and prospered."

The eleventh day of the same month was also set apart for prayer and fasting, and the *vigils* renewed.

"In some of these my mind is irradiated with celestial and angelical influences, assuring of me that my 'Church History' shall not be lost,

but shall come abroad, and be made serviceable unto the evangelical interests, and be of great use in that great work of cleansing the temple for which the Lord will speedily pour out a Spirit upon his people from on high.

"In one of my *vigils*, when I sang the 131st psalm, that passage exceedingly affected me,—‘My soul is even as a weaned child: let Israel hope in the Lord from henceforth.’ I had been *wrestling* with the Lord for the good success of my ‘Church History.’ In the midst of this my *wrestling*, I was become *as a weaned child*; even resigning the whole matter unto the ordering of the Lord, and resolving to be satisfied with whatever He shall order. But it was now powerfully set home upon my mind, that I might now *hope in the Lord from henceforth* to see a good issue of the matter."

Under date of 1st of May following, he says,—

"My ‘Church History’ has been in extreme hazard of miscarriage. The delay given by the nice humors of my friend in whose hands it was left unto the kind offers and motions of the gentleman that would have published it a year ago, exposed it unto the hazard of never being published at all. God continued the opportunities and inclinations of that gentleman to go on with the undertaking. When they began to fail, God stirred up a very eminent bookseller to come in with obliging tenders of his assistances. Letters to advise me of this were dated as long ago as the 20th of last *November*. One ship arrives from London after another; and still I am strangely kept in the dark. I have no satisfaction in any of them. *God will have my prayer and faith employed unto the uttermost!* At last, on this day, after so long a delay, comes in the ship that had these letters; which also tell me, that they hoped the work would be finished by the month of *March*, which is now past. But, still, prayer and faith must be kept at work for the good circumstances of it."

On the 9th of the same month, he records that he was—

"Not without some irradiations from Heaven; especially in this point, that happy tidings were coming to me from England."

His diary, for some time after this, is much taken up with entries suggested by the illness and death of his wife; but, on the 30th of October (1702) following the above, he says,—

"Yesterday I first saw my 'Church History' since the publication of it. A gentleman arrived here from Newcastle in England, that had bought it there. Wherefore I set apart this day for solemn THANKSGIVING unto God for his watchful and gracious providence over that work, and for the harvest of so many prayers and cares and tears and resignations as I had employed upon it. My religious friend, Mr. *Bromfield*, who had been singularly helpful to the publication of that great book (of twenty shillings price at London), came to me at the close of the day, to join with me in some of my praises to God."

JANUARY MEETING. — 1863.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, Jan. 8, at twelve o'clock, m.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the Essex Institute; the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society; the Redwood Library; Mrs. Elijah Allen; Professor A. D. Bache; H. I. Bowditch, M.D.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; General J. Watts De Peyster; Hon. John P. Hale; Hon. Joseph M. Wightman; Nathaniel Willis, Esq.; and from Messrs. Green, Livermore, Lothrop, Robbins (C.), Savage, Webb, Willard, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President presented, from Miss E. M. Judkins, a brush, labelled "Allston's Blender," with which the great painter was accustomed to blend his colors. This brush was given to Miss Judkins by Mrs. Allston, in 1849.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Miss Judkins for this memorial of the great American artist.

A written request from Mr. DEANE, of the Society, that he might be allowed to print privately, at his own expense, a manuscript in the handwriting of Governor Bradford, and also some verses by the same author, in a manuscript volume belonging to the Society, was granted.

The President remarked, that he had met with one or two little matters of history, a notice of which might be of some interest. One was a contemporary record of the fact, which had hitherto rested on the authority of Scottow's narrative, in regard to the sermon said to have been preached by John Cotton at Southampton before the sailing of the "Arbella."

He then read the following extract from the diary of John Rous, page 53 of number fifty-six of the Camden Society's publications:—

June, 7, 1630. — "Some little while since, the company went to Newe England under Mr. Winthrop. Mr. Cotton, of Boston in Lincolnshire, went to their departure about Gravesend, and preached to them, as we heare, out of 2 Samuell vii. 10. It is said that he is prohibited for preaching any more in England then untill June 24 next now comming. I sawe a booke at Bury at a bookeseller's, containing a declaration of their intent who be gone to Newe England, set out by themselves, and purposed for satisfaction to the King & State (as I conceive), because of some scandalous misconceivings that runne abroad."

The President also read a passage from a newly discovered letter of Emanuel Downing to his brother-in-law, Governor Winthrop, which will be printed in

the forthcoming volume of the Society's Collections, and which furnished some new information in regard to Downing's family history. It spoke of his father-in-law, *Sir James Ware*, as having recently died (1632). This Sir James Ware (whose second daughter, Anne, was the first wife of Emanuel Downing) was a highly distinguished person in Ireland, a member of the Irish Parliament in 1613, and knighted by James I. He was the father of that Sir James Ware whose works on Ireland had secured him the title of the "Irish Camden;" and of whom an interesting account, with a portrait, would be found in Thane's "British Autography," vol. ii. p. 38. A fine copy of the "Works concerning Ireland," in two folio volumes, is in the Boston Public Library; and, in the second part of the second volume (p. 148), there is an account of the family of Sir James Ware, with a notice of his sister's marriage to Emanuel Downing.

Mr. C. Brooks exhibited several articles which were found by the side of one of the skeletons in the Indian Necropolis at Medford, referred to in his recent communication.

On motion of Dr. WALKER, *voted*, That the next stated meeting be held at eleven o'clock, A.M.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, Feb. 12, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the Department of State of the United States; the American Philosophical Society; the City of Boston; the Chicago Historical Society; the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society; Harvard College; Oberlausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Görlitz; the publishers of the "Farmer and Gardener;" Rev. Cyrus A. Bartol, D.D.; James Lenox, Esq.; Rev. Elias Nason; Rev. William S. Perry; Stephen Randall, Esq.; C. J. Stillé, Esq.; Rev. E. M. Stone; John W. Wallace, Esq.; and from Messrs. Brigham, Brooks (W. G.), Deane, Lamson, Livermore, Loring, Paige, Robbins (C.), Sibley, Tudor, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President, in announcing the death of Hon. Nathan Hale, remarked as follows:—

We have not failed to observe, gentlemen, within a few days past, the announcement of the death of our respected associate, the Hon. NATHAN HALE. He was the third in the order of seniority on the list of our Resident Members; his election dating back to the 27th of January, 1820. He was a member of our Standing Committee for twelve successive years, from 1824 to 1836; and, though his growing infirmities had long prevented his attendance at our meetings, we cannot permit his name to disappear from our rolls without some just recognition

of his numerous and important services to the community in which he lived.

Few men, indeed, of our day and generation, have combined more remarkably than Mr. Hale a life of active practical usefulness with that of a laborious writer and publisher. If he had left no record but that of the public duties which he has discharged, the public improvements which he has promoted, the public enterprises with whose rise and progress he has been personally and prominently connected, he would have earned no common tribute from those who had witnessed his career. The leading and most efficient part which he took in the establishment of our New-England railroad system, and in the introduction of pure water into our own city, would alone have been enough to secure him the grateful remembrance of us all. Add, now, the services which he repeatedly rendered in both branches of our State Legislature, and in the Conventions for the Amendment of the Constitution of Massachusetts in 1820 and in 1853, and little more would seem to be required to complete the record of an eminently useful and valuable life.

Yet these, we all know, were only the incidents and episodes to the main current of his career. It was as an intelligent, accomplished, and devoted journalist that he has won his chief title to the respect and gratitude of our community. It may be said, without disparagement to any one, living or dead, that, for a long series of years, the paper edited by Nathan Hale was second to none in our whole land for exact information, for just criticism, for clear and candid exposition, for able and thorough discussion, and for the most exemplary abstinence from every thing which could offend the taste or wound the feelings of any class of its readers. Whatever differences of opinion may at any time have been entertained as to its peculiar political views, it was everywhere welcomed for the ability, the precision, and the purity which were daily reflected into its columns from the pure, able, and accurate mind of its untiring editor. It is no

small thing in these days to have left such an example of a great journalist, who never perverted the mighty influence of the press to any unworthy or sinister purpose.

Nor can we forget, on this occasion, the peculiar value of these editorial labors of our departed friend to the cause of History, in which we are associated. I hazard little in saying, that even those who might have been most disposed, whether reasonably or unreasonably, to look to the columns of other papers for the very latest version of the news of the day or for the earliest phase of some still doubtful story, would now, if they were seeking for the most faithful account of any event or any question within the thirty or forty years of Mr. Hale's active editorship, be found consulting nothing more eagerly or more confidently than a file of the Boston "Daily Advertiser." Indeed, the history of that period could hardly be written without the aid of such a file.

But there are others among us more competent than myself to speak of the public services, and of the private and social virtues, of our deceased friend; and it only remains for me to fulfil the instructions of our Standing Committee by submitting the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That, in the death of the Hon. NATHAN HALE, this Society has lost an esteemed and respected associate, whose long and faithful labors as the editor of a leading journal, and whose varied and valuable services in the cause of more than one of our most important public improvements, cannot fail of being held in grateful remembrance by the whole community in which he lived.

Resolved, That the President be requested to appoint one of our number to prepare a Memoir of Mr. Hale for our next volume of Proceedings.

Hon. EDWARD EVERETT, on seconding the resolutions, spoke as follows:—

Mr. PRESIDENT,—I hope I do not transgress the bounds of delicacy in echoing the well-deserved tribute which you have

paid to our departed associate and friend ; but, if the near relation in which I stood to him prevents my speaking with impartiality, it enables me to speak at least with an intimate knowledge of his great worth. It is with the confidence founded on that knowledge, that I do not scruple to pronounce him, not only one of the best men I ever knew, but one of the persons possessed of the greatest amount of valuable knowledge, endowed with the largest capacity for usefulness, and yet covered with such a thick veil of modesty, that there were few individuals whom a casual observer, unacquainted with his character, would have been more likely to pass unobserved.

You have spoken, sir, with such discriminating justice of the twofold relation of editor and engineer, in which he stood to the community, as to leave me very little to say. It is hard to decide in which character his services were the most valuable. He assumed the management of the Boston "Daily Advertiser" in 1814, shortly after the commencement of its publication. He was its sole conductor for fifteen or twenty years ; its responsible editor for as many more ; and, by all acknowledgment, he brought to it a variety and accuracy of information, a solidity of judgment, a fidelity to principle and to his friends, a moderation toward opponents, and a sacred regard to truth, which cannot be too highly praised. It was said of the "Daily Advertiser" by a distinguished contemporary journalist, the founder and editor of the Boston "Courier," that the "Advertiser" was the first journal which systematically introduced the editorial discussion of political topics, — that branch of journalism having been before left to correspondents ; the most celebrated of whom are the authors of the "Federalist" and of "Junius." I have not the means of verifying the accuracy of this remark : but certain it is, that the columns of the "Daily Advertiser," for forty years, contained, as a standing feature, an editorial comment on passing affairs at home and abroad ; and not less so, that such a comment, prepared as it was by Mr. Hale, in a

manner to exercise a marked influence on public opinion, could be the achievement of no ordinary mind.

Besides natural talent of a high order, and the advantage of a liberal education at a respectable seminary (Williams College), Mr. Hale provided himself with aids in the discharge of his editorial duties, not as common then as now. He imported the leading European journals, English, French, and German. I have heard it said that his file of the London "Times" was the only one, at that time, to be found in any printing-office in Boston. His shelves were well supplied with books of reference in contemporaneous history, in geography, and statistics; and he was particularly curious in the collection of maps. Every thing falling within these departments was habitually discussed by him with more than common fulness and accuracy.

It was not long before the "Advertiser," as conducted by him, acquired the name of the "Respectable Daily." He regarded this as a title of honor. He wished no higher praise than to conduct a journal that deserved and enjoyed the respect of an enlightened community. Even when this epithet was employed in ridicule and derision, he did not heed the reproach. He was willing to suffer in his reputation for enterprise, by abstaining from the hasty dissemination of flying rumors as if they were matters of ascertained intelligence; and to give up the credit for smartness, which was to be earned by the reckless assertion of doubtful facts, by the bold utterance of crude opinions, or by wanton attacks on private character.

Among his rules of journalism, one was to present every kind of intelligence in the most authentic form. The Congressional or Executive Report, the Original Letter, the important article from a European journal, if not prevented by its length or some specific objection, he gave entire as he found it. He did not garble it, nor subject it to editorial manipulation, in order to make the work of others pass for his own.

He reserved the editorial columns and the editorial type

exclusively for articles written by himself, or by those who at any time were regularly associated with him in the conduct of the paper; and never accepted pecuniary compensation, except for what appeared in the recognized form of an advertisement.

He had great aptitude for mechanical contrivance of every kind. I am under the impression, that he first conceived the idea of executing geographical maps on type-metal, setting up the names in common type, and occasionally employing these maps in his paper for the illustration of the intelligence contained in its columns. A manual of geography, published by him in middle life, was, I believe, the first volume illustrated by maps of this kind. He was one of the first journalists, if not the very first, who employed the power-press; and, at one time, he engaged somewhat extensively in the printing of books. The twelve volumes of Mr. Sparks's "Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution" were issued from his power-presses.

He was at all times peculiarly fond of geographical studies. He devoted his leisure hours — if, in such a life, there could be any thing that deserved the name of a leisure hour — to the preparation of a map of New England, which still retains a standard character. It was not compiled from older maps, but laboriously constructed from original materials, and calculations and measurements made by himself. In the prosecution of his geographical studies, he became possessed of a very valuable collection of original maps and plans of military positions held in the old French and Revolutionary wars; most of which are manuscripts, drawn at the time by officers in the British army.

Although Mr. Hale's predominant tastes were in the direction of the mathematics pure and applied, he by no means confined himself to them. His reading was wide and various. He had a working knowledge of French and German; and kept up, perhaps extended, the knowledge of the ancient classics which he brought from college. He had a valuable private library, and was well acquainted with its contents. He wrote some-

what slowly and laboriously, but without stiffness, and in a style of pure sterling English, with great precision of thought, and clearness of expression. Considering that most of his writing was for the columns of a newspaper, his style is remarkably free from the faults to which that kind of composition is most exposed, — looseness, over-statement, and appeal to "Buncombe." As far as the tone and spirit of his writings are concerned, it may be said of him, quite as truly as of the author of whom the remark was originally made, that in all his writings, however voluminous in the aggregate, there was —

"Not one immoral, one corrupting thought;
One line which, dying, he could wish to blot."

With such stores of varied information, especially in reference to our politics, and with such weight of character, Mr. Hale would seem to have been qualified for eminence as a public speaker. But neither his taste nor temperament lay in that direction. There was, in conversation, even a hesitancy in his utterance. It is therefore the more remarkable, that whenever on occasions of business or ceremony, or in the public bodies of which he was a member, he was called upon to express himself, he did it with entire self-possession, dignity, and ease. He had one habit as a public speaker which might be introduced with advantage in all our public assemblies: he never rose to speak without having something to say worth listening to; and, when he had said it, he sat down.

It would seem that the duties of an editor, as Mr. Hale performed them, would be enough to occupy all the time even of the most laborious and active man; but he united with them those of a most distinguished and successful engineer. From the moment the railroad system began to be established successfully in England, Mr. Hale gave much attention to its consideration. Having mastered its details as a problem in engineering, he forthwith began to devote what the incredulous considered an undue portion of his columns to the discussion of

its economical relations. In a word, the feasibility and importance of railroads for this country were diligently and forcibly, and with every variety of illustration, "written up" by him; and the result is the net-work that covers the land. He was the chairman and working member of the first Board of Commissioners for Internal Improvement, by whom the principal railroad-lines in this State were surveyed. He was the first President of the Worcester Railroad, — the line on which the first locomotive-engine was run; and he assumed the effective responsibility for all the calculations, estimates, and initiatory surveys, of what was then deemed an experimental work. No sooner had he conducted it to a triumphant result, than he threw himself with the same self-sacrificing zeal upon the project for supplying Boston with pure water; and never shall I forget the light that beamed from his pensive eye, and the flush that spread over his thoughtful countenance, when, at the close of the memorable day on which the completion of that work was celebrated, he saw the noble jet of water from Long Pond, a distance of eighteen miles, spouting up to the clouds from the centre of Boston Common.

In a modest and appropriate obituary notice of Mr. Hale which appeared in the "Daily Advertiser" the morning after his decease, written after that event at half-past eleven o'clock of the night before, it is stated that these and other similar labors, performed by Mr. Hale, were "disinterested." There is an undesigned sarcasm in this expression, which this is not the place, nor I the person, to unfold. Labors such as those which in the Old World have raised the Arkwrights, the Stephensons, the Brunels, to fortune, — some of them to princely fortune, — had no such result for him. Not to speak of the Boston Water-works, and the benefits they have conferred on the community, cheaply purchased at the millions they have cost (as they would have been had those millions been doubled), his connection with the railroad system of the United States, of which the annual

benefit to the country cannot be estimated at less than one hundred millions of dollars, and of which, more than any other individual, he is entitled to be called the Father, left him a poorer man than it found him.

And this leads me to a closing remark on the moral qualities of his character. I have already said that he was one of the very best men I ever knew. In an acquaintance commencing at the Academy at Exeter in 1807, and in a relation as intimate as can be without the cement of blood, I never saw in him the slightest trace of any of the sins which do most easily beset us, — of selfishness, avarice, vanity, indolence, affectation, arrogance: it would be an insult to his memory to add dishonesty or corruption to the list. He was the soul of justice, probity, and honor. A deep sense of religious obligation gave tone and steadiness to his moral principle; and, if he had not been human, I should have been almost ready to pronounce him faultless.

But he had his faults. The ancient philosophers placed moral perfection in the golden mean, equally removed from excess on either side. Mr. Hale carried the noblest virtue of which our frail natures are capable — disinterestedness — to an extreme which interfered with his own health, comfort, and prosperity; and going beyond the Scripture rule, which it is never safe to do, he loved his neighbor better than himself.

The resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

The President subsequently appointed Dr. Lothrop to prepare a Memoir of Mr. Hale.

The President laid on the table a copy of Mr. Savage's "Genealogical Dictionary," sumptuously bound, a gift to the library from Mr. Tudor; for which the President was requested to convey the thanks of the Society to Mr. Tudor.

Count Agénor de Gasparin of Switzerland was elected an Honorary Member, Right Rev. George Burgess, Bishop of Maine, and George W. Green, Esq., of New York, Corresponding Members, and Francis E. Parker, Esq., and Mr. William H. Whitmore, of Boston, Resident Members, of the Society.

Messrs. Loring, Sturgis, and Washburn were appointed a Committee with full powers to advise with the Treasurer in regard to the funds of the Society, and to make any investment of the same which they may deem advisable. The President was added to this Committee.

The Treasurer submitted the following report:—

The Society, on the 13th of November, 1862, *voted*, That the Treasurer, under the direction of the Standing Committee, be authorized to sell the share of the Massachusetts Cotton Mills owned by the Society, and, with the extra dividend and the dividend due, invest the proceeds in the building now owned by the Society.

This share of the Cotton Mills was received, in part, as a legacy to the Society, from their late member, Nathaniel I. Bowditch, Esq., of one thousand dollars; the balance being two hundred dollars, which was invested in the building. The Standing Committee having authorized, by vote, the sale of this share, I have sold it. The share brought eleven hundred and fifty dollars; which, with the extra dividend of two hundred dollars and the regular dividend of fifty dollars, made the sum of fourteen hundred dollars; which has been invested as directed. This makes the sum of sixteen hundred dollars which has been received from Mr. Bowditch's legacy of one thousand, besides the regular dividends.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Treasurer*.

The President called attention to a communication in the January number of the "Historical Magazine," signed with the initials of the name of our Corresponding Member, George H. Moore, Esq.; which seemed to leave little doubt that the real name of the translator of Chastellux's "Travels" was John Kent; and that the name of *Grieve* (as given by Ebeling in the copy of Chastellux in the Harvard-college Library) was an *alias*, assumed for purposes of secrecy.

The President added, that he had received a letter from Mr. Moore within a few hours past, which concluded with the following passage:—

"I have also recently met with a notice of New England and Morton's 'New-England Memorial,' which may interest you, if, indeed, you have not seen it before. The contemporary comparison of Old and New England in 1672 strikes me as very significant. The passage occurs in a letter of John Collins, a mathematician of some celebrity in his day, who was officially connected with the Council of Plantations at that time. Writing to Dr. Beale, Aug. 20, 1672, he says, —

"'Upon your mentioning of New England, I have this to say. I have been informed that there hath been an excellent map of New England some years since sent over to his Majesty; but now it is not, upon diligent inquiry, to be found. There is a 4to book printed in New England, entitled "New-England's Memorial," by William Morton; being a history or journal of the settlement and transactions in that colony. Your judgment about the civil conversation of New, and loose of Old England, demands remark. Their rigor in requiring real grace in church-members, and our looseness in a temporizing Arminianism to obtain preferment, I take to be contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England. I believe I have spent as much time to satisfy myself thoroughly in those controversies as I have done in the mathematics, and could wish all controversies stated in the method of the [] proposal about trade.'" — *Letters of Scientific Men*, i. 202.

Dr. USHER PARSONS, Corresponding Member, exhibited a large collection of curious relics of the Indians of Rhode Island, recently exhumed near the seashore, on ground which formerly belonged to the Sachem Ninigret.

Mr. FOLSOM reported a list of necessary books of reference for the Society's library; and mentioned that one of our associates had placed at his disposal the sum of fifty dollars, to be added to the amount which the Standing Committee might appropriate to the purchase of the books.

The President said he had brought for exhibition to the Society one of the old paper-notes of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, issued on the 10th of December, 1690.

This was the first issue of paper-money in Massachusetts, and, as he believed, in America. Sir William Phips had arrived in Boston only a few weeks before, bringing back his troops most unexpectedly, after an unsuccessful expedition against Canada. The Government was entirely unprepared for the return of the forces; and the soldiers, we are told, were upon the point of a mutiny, for want of their wages. It was utterly impossible to raise, in a few days, the amount which was necessary. "The extreme difficulty to which the Government was reduced, was the occasion," says Hutchinson, "of the first bills of credit ever issued in the Colonies as a substitute in the place of money."

Dr. Felt, in his "History of Massachusetts Currency," gives an account of the proceeding, together with a description of one of the notes. We learn also, that, as early as the 23d of October of the following year, the General Court ordered a committee to burn up all the bills collected by the Treasurer; and

Wm
Jam Taylor
Provind of the



Great Off^r
2d Massachusetts Bay.

N. 62.

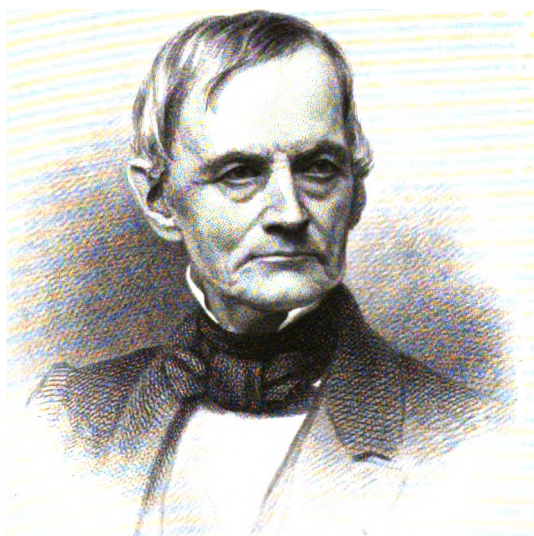
so effectually was this done, that Dr. Felt adds, "Curiosity has preserved no residuum of the bills, as the repository of the Royal Artillery at Woolwich has of the Bank-of-England notes, in a case of glass, for the examination of visitors."

This remark would lead us to suppose that the notes were now very rare, and that this specimen might be almost unique. The production of it on this occasion, however, might lead to the discovery of others.

It is written with a pen, not engraved; and the seal of the Province is very inartistically drawn. One might almost suppose it to have been a mere draught of the design for the notes, rather than one of the notes themselves. But it is indented and signed and countersigned. The signatures are evidently original; and the bill is numbered 4980 on the face, and No. 62 on the back.

Perhaps these notes may be less rare than has been imagined; but, as Dr. Felt stated that he himself had never seen one, this may by chance be the only surviving ancestor of the growing family of American paper-money.

Mr. C. ROBBINS communicated a Memoir of the late Hon. William Appleton, which he had prepared in compliance with a vote of the Society.



O

M E M O I R
OF
H O N. W I L L I A M A P P L E T O N.

BY REV. CHANDLER, ROBBINS, D.D.

IN the year 1635, SAMUEL APPLETON came from Little Waldingfield, in Suffolk, Eng., with his family, and settled in Ipswich. Descended from an ancestry of good repute in his native country, he became the progenitor of a highly respected race in the land of his adoption. The beautiful Memorial of him published in Boston in 1850 renders it superfluous to renew the familiar account of his lineage. Whoever will refer to that volume, will find that in every period, from that of his remotest known ancestor, John Appulton of Great Waldingfield, who died in 1414, the family name has never failed to be worthily represented. Not only the commemorative tributes of this Society, but the annals of our State and National legislatures, the records of various institutions of learning, charity, and religion, the public eulogies and private encomiums of the citizens of Boston, and even the commercial and industrial prosperity of New England, bear testimony to the honorable manner in which it has been sustained in the thirteenth generation.

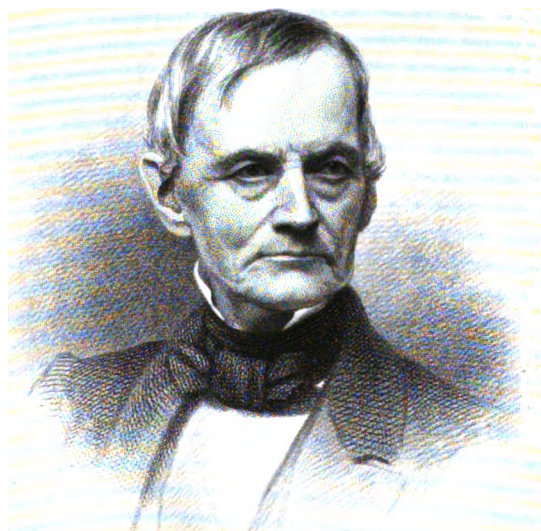


MEMOIR

OF WILLIAM APPULTON

BY JOHN C. NOBLE, D.D.

NEW YORK: 1855. SAMPSON, APPLETON, & CO. LITH.
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

MEMOIR

HON. WILLIAM APPULTON.

BY REV. J. S. APPULTON, SON OF THE SUBJECT.

In the year 1635, Samuel Appulton came from Little Walsingham, in Suffolk, Engle, with his family, and settled in Ipswich. Descended from an ancestry of good repute in his native country, he became the progenitor of a highly respected race in the land of his adoption. The beautiful Memorial of him published in Boston, 1850 renders it superfluous to renew the family record of his lineage. Whoever will refer to that volume will find that in every period, from that of a remote known ancestor, John Appulton of Great Walsingham who died in 1414, the family name has been found to be worthily represented. Not only to the State, but to the Tribunes of this Society, but the Senate and National legislatures, the records of commerce, of science, of industry, and religion, the private and public encomiums of the citizen, and even the commercial and industrial progress of New England, bear testimony to the honor in which it has been sustained in the thirteenth century.



The instances must be very rare, in which, in a single city, four individuals of one kindred and name, and in the same grade of natural descent, have contemporaneously made their own way from humble beginnings to such high distinction in the same calling as was lately attained by the three brothers, Samuel, Nathan, and Ebenezer Appleton,* and their cousin William, — a sketch of whose life we are about to give. They were so intimately and pleasantly associated in life, and their images are naturally so grouped together in our remembrance, that we could not speak particularly of one till we had first made respectful mention of the rest.

William Appleton was born in the North Parish of Brookfield, Mass., Nov. 16, 1786. His father, Rev. Joseph Appleton, was born in Ipswich in 1751; graduated at Brown University in 1772; was ordained minister of the Second Church in Brookfield, now the First Congregational Church in North Brookfield, in 1776; and died in July, 1795.† He was a man of respectable abilities, approved scholarship, and exemplary Christian character.

His mother was Mary, daughter of Jacob Hook, a gentleman farmer of Kingston, N.H., whose estate was large

* Ebenezer Appleton died in April, 1838, at the age of forty-eight. He was a man of more than ordinary talents, and of considerable literary taste and culture, genial in his disposition, and popular in his manners.

† The only work ever published by him was a controversial theological pamphlet of thirty pages. There is an elegant monument to him in the churchyard of North Brookfield, with suitable inscriptions, erected by his son, the subject of this Memoir.

Among the last of Hon. William Appleton's benefactions was the contribution of five thousand dollars to the First Congregational Society of North Brookfield, for the purchase of a library for the use of the minister. It is called the Appleton Library.

We are indebted for these facts to Rev. C. Cushing, the present pastor of the church in North Brookfield.

for that place and period. At the death of her husband, who bequeathed to her a small property and the sole charge of five young children,—two sons and three daughters,—she removed to her native place, and occupied a farm of moderate value, which she had inherited from her father. In the year 1798, she was married to Major Daniel Gould, of Lyndeborough, N.H.; and, with her children, took up her abode in that town. Many of the traits of her character bore a striking resemblance to those which afterwards appeared in her son. She had a strong mind, a quick apprehension, a sound judgment, and an unusual capacity for business. Although of feeble health, she was energetic and persevering. Her conversation was often playful and witty, and occasionally seasoned with a spice of satire: though all these qualities were duly held in check; for she was a Christian, both by profession and practice. Her son has recorded his deep sense of obligation to her for having shaped and controlled his character. In a brief notice of her life, written on the day of her death, he says, “From the time my father died, she was very particular in giving her children religious instruction, and often prayed with them in her chamber. I have lost in her, not only the faithful guardian of my infancy, but the discreet monitor of my youth, and counsellor of my maturity.”

She was evidently a fine specimen of the best class of New-England mothers; to whom, more than to any other source, are to be traced those sound principles, virtuous habits, and practical qualities, by means of which their children have attained both material pros-

perity and a fair moral fame. Her death took place at Mount Vernon, N.H., June 25, 1842, in her eighty-seventh year, after she had long enjoyed the fruit of her maternal fidelity in witnessing the successful career of her son.

In tracing that career, as well as in estimating Mr. Appleton's character, we have been permitted to avail ourselves of a private diary, which he had kept, with occasional interruptions, during a period of nearly fifty years. It fills seven manuscript volumes, evidently written without the slightest reference to posthumous use. It consists of very brief and simple notes of incidents, especially interesting to the writer, connected with his family, his business, the state of his health, and his religious experience and duties: to which are occasionally added reminiscences of early life; impressions of men; obituary sketches of his friends; and views, both retrospective and prospective, of commercial, financial, and industrial affairs. Although intended exclusively for his own perusal, there is nothing in this journal which would not bear general inspection. On the contrary, it exhibits the writer, off his guard and in his interior life, in a highly creditable and amiable light. It reveals such conscientiousness, such an humble estimate of himself, such a true and lively affection for his family and friends, such a constant conflict with the love of the world and the desire for riches, and such gratitude and submission to Providence, as are worthy of respect and sympathy.

In using this diary, it will be our endeavor not to violate the generous confidence of the living, nor the

delicate reserve which is due to the private papers of the dead. No further reference will be made to it than may be necessary to such a truthful representation of his character as alone would be sanctioned by himself, or conducive to those moral and Christian ends which were evidently near to his heart, and to which, we are persuaded, he would desire, above all things, that his biography should be subservient.

He was sent to school at an early age, first at New Ipswich, and afterwards successively at Francestown and Tyngsborough. In 1801, he made his first trial of business as a clerk in a store at Temple, N.H., kept by Mr. Artemas Wheeler. His capacity and good conduct made such a favorable impression upon his employer, that, at the age of nineteen, he took him into partnership. At the expiration of a year, having found that a country store afforded a too limited field for his abilities and ambition, he sold his stock, and interest in the firm ; and with the small property which he had inherited, together with what he had earned, came to Boston. In alluding to this period, he was scrupulously careful not to appropriate the remark, intended to be complimentary, which was sometimes applied to him, as it has been to so many other of our wealthy citizens, — that he came from his country home with nothing but “ a small bundle in his hand, and a few cents in his pocket.” The sum which he actually brought was small enough, in contrast with what he afterwards accumulated, to accredit his talents for business ; and the very fact that a portion of it had been already saved, and the remainder earned, before his arrival, throws back upon his youth the merit

of those same qualities which were afterwards so conspicuously exemplified in his maturity.

The following memoranda, relating to the early stages of his business-life, are copied from his journal :—

“ After I came to Boston, I resided for a short time with How and Spear, who kept a West-India goods store. In 1807, I went into business with Mr. N. Giddings. We kept at the corner of India Street and Central Street, — the only store then occupied in the street. (?) Our business was the buying and selling of West-India goods and crockery-ware. We dissolved our connection in the autumn of 1809. Then, considering myself worth about four thousand dollars, I bought the ship ‘Triumphant,’ at Salem, in connection with Upham, Gassett, and Co., for five thousand dollars, and went with her to Fayal, where I had her put under Portuguese colors, and despatched her to Liverpool; I taking passage with Mr. and Mrs. Bowdoin in another ship. On my arrival at Liverpool, I found my ship had been captured by a French privateer: but she was fortunately retaken a few weeks after, and brought to Plymouth; whither I went to take charge of my property. I remained in England till July; when I embarked in the brig ‘Eliza,’ Captain Gardner, with about ten thousand pounds’ value of goods, for account of myself and Parker, Appleton, and Co. These goods, and another importation, I sold; and, at the end of the year 1811, found myself worth about ten thousand dollars. I went from Philadelphia to North Carolina, where I loaded two vessels with naval-stores for England. From thence I went to Charleston, S.C., and took passage in the ship ‘Ceres,’ Captain Webber, for Liverpool; where I found that an embargo was laid in the United States, which was considered preparatory to war with England.

“ In June, 1812, I was in the House of Commons, listening to the debates of that body; when it was announced that the orders in Council which related to the American ships would be modified or repealed; these orders being supposed to be the

cause of difficulty between the two governments. I at once commenced purchasing goods, and, within one month, had goods valued at thirty thousand pounds on the way, or in readiness to be shipped, to the United States; when information arrived that war had actually been declared by the United-States Government. This intelligence caused me much trouble and anxiety. In August, I embarked for Boston in the ship 'Roxanna.' On my arrival, I found great distress and apprehension among the people on account of the war. When I had closed up my importations, and made a settlement of affairs with N. W. and C. H. Appleton, I thought myself worth sixty thousand dollars. . . . I did not attend to any business of importance during the war.

In January, 1815, Mr. Appleton was married to Mary Ann Cutler,—a lady whose graces of person were equalled by the estimable qualities of her mind and heart, and whose Christian faith contributed as much to the establishment of her husband's religious character as her domestic virtues to the happiness of his home.

"In the spring of 1815, after peace had been made with Great Britain, I laid my plans for future business; and immediately commenced the building of the ships 'Telegraph,' 'Courier,' and 'Minerva.' Before they were finished, I was attacked with the dyspepsy, which was attended with great prostration of strength, nervous irritability, and all sorts of unpleasant feelings. I contended with the disease till the autumn; when, in November, I embarked for Charleston, where I passed the winter, without any improvement in health. The succeeding summer was spent in travelling, but brought no alleviation of my symptoms: on the contrary, my condition was miserable. The irritability increased; but God knows how great suffering produced it, and how difficult it was to be controlled. In the autumn, I sailed with my wife for the Mediterranean. We passed the winter in Sicily; visited Rome,

Paris, and London ; and, towards the close of the year 1817, embarked for Charleston. In April following, we returned to Boston ; my health having been much improved during our long absence.* This year (1819), I went into business with Messrs. Paige and Chase. Our copartnership continued for six years ; during which I carried on considerable additional business on my own account."

Such is his own simple and summary record of a commercial career, which, when we take into view its humble beginnings and his feeble health, in connection with the sagacity and enterprise displayed and the success accomplished, is almost without a parallel. He had been in Boston but eighteen years, and was not yet forty years old, when he retired from the firm last mentioned ; yet, at that period, no man in the town, of his own age, had made so much money, and not more than two or three were possessed of an equal amount of property.

Having now released himself from the routine of active business, although still retaining an interest in commerce and manufactures, Mr. Appleton found a congenial field of duty and enjoyment in the society and education of his children. To all the other blessings with which Providence had enriched him, was added that of a large and interesting family. Few men have had stronger domestic affections, and few a more attractive home in which to cultivate and gratify them. Though grateful for all the favors of Heaven, there was

* As a measure of the increase of the value of real estate in Boston, the following memorandum is of some interest: "In the autumn of 1819, I purchased from Mr. Nathan Appleton the house in Beacon Street, in which I have since lived, for the sum of fourteen thousand dollars."

none which he appreciated so highly, or so often thankfully acknowledged, as this. Not a week, it might almost be said, not a day, passed by, during the latter half of his life, in which some kind reference was not made in his diary to one or another of his children. Every circumstance of the slightest interest connected with their condition is recorded. Every sign of progress in knowledge or virtue, which displayed itself in either of them, is noted with evident delight. Every pleasant family gathering at dinner, or in the evening, is registered, together with the names of all who were present. Every absence or sickness or sorrow is marked with a sympathetic and regretful recognition.

With the exception of an occasional journey for the benefit of his health, and the loss of one of his children, who died in infancy, this rare domestic felicity suffered no serious interruption for many years. At length, the inevitable shadows began to fall, in quick succession, upon his home and his heart. In 1836, his oldest son William, whose health had been for some time declining, died at Schaffhausen, in Switzerland. Possessed of every quality which endears a son to a father, together with those which give promise of a useful and honorable life, and are most flattering to parental pride, the tidings of his death unsealed the deepest fountain of grief. It was the first great affliction which Mr. Appleton had ever experienced, and it touched him in the tenderest point. It was the first severe test which had ever been applied to his faith; and, happily, his faith was adequate to the trial. The notice of the event in his journal, though it betokens his anguish, attests also

his submission. It is so plaintive, that one can hardly read it without a tear; and yet so devout and acquiescent as to excite admiration.

“I had suffered,” he writes, “more than can be described, after hearing of William’s serious sickness, till I heard of the closing scene. During the interval, I was so ill as to be confined to the house. When the sad tidings came, the shock was great. Our friends gave us their sympathy, and did all in their power to alleviate our sorrow; but we found our consolation from other than earthly comforters. I now feel that God has taken him to himself. I think of him with the greatest pleasure. A thousand incidents in his short life appear to me in the most delightful retrospect. His imperfections have disappeared. I can truly say with his uncle, Mr. Nathan Appleton, who was with him in his last hours, ‘He had less of earthly dross than any one I ever knew.’ The recollection of his pious resignation in the approach of death is more valuable to me than any thing in this world. He is gone.” *

One bond which bound him to earth was now broken. His heart dutifully accepted the sad but providential release, and rose towards heaven. The rupture of other strong and beautiful ties helped its higher ascent. Four children, all of mature age (two sons and two daughters), were successively taken from him. He gave them up, one after another, with increasing submission to God;

* Being in Europe not long after William’s death, the writer, who had known him in his youth, out of love and respect to his memory, left his travelling companions and his prescribed route to visit his grave in a churchyard at Schaffhausen. A chaste monument had recently been erected to mark the spot, of which we made a sketch at the time. With a melancholy satisfaction, after so many years, we embrace this opportunity to associate a brief tribute to the son with a memorial of the father. To do so is not so much to assume a privilege of affection as to discharge a biographical duty; for a pure and virtuous child is not only an ornament to the memory of his parents, but an attestation of their worth.

but such repeated bereavements took a deep hold upon his heart, and cast a shade of seriousness over his subsequent life.

The death of his second son Amory, which occurred in 1843, was the heaviest loss of all, and left the deepest impression upon his character. Each of the other children is tenderly commemorated in his journal, and ample justice rendered to their peculiar endearments; but for him he mourns not only as for a son, but a friend. He was, in all respects, after his own heart. Amiable in disposition, sound in judgment, as sagacious in business as his father, and perhaps more prudent, strong in moral principle, and, to crown all, a Christian in faith and practice, he had not only secured his father's unlimited confidence, but such an influence over him as no other person could exert.

"I loved him," he says, "most dearly. He was the best of sons; of late years, my companion, my friend, my adviser. We took our daily walks together; we went to the house of God in company; together we knelt at the altar; in public and in private, we lifted up our supplications in unison to our Creator. We were more nearly brought together than most fathers and sons. We had entire confidence in each other. He would tell me my faults; and I heard them from him with a better spirit than I should from any other. I was proud of him. God has taken him. May it humble my pride, and teach me to trust to the Saviour! I love to think of his amiable manners, of his kind checks when I spoke too quickly, of his truly religious feelings, and all our intimate and pleasant associations in business, in private intercourse and prayer, and in public worship. His death changed most of my plans of business. It is indeed a sad event to part with such a son; but it

is the will of Heaven, and I would not acknowledge myself so selfish as to wish him back again to contend with this sinful world."

We learn from this extract, that not the death only of his children, but their lives also, exerted an elevating influence upon his character. His chief desire with regard to them was, not that they should bask in the sunshine of prosperity or win the honors of this fleeting life, but that they should establish virtuous characters, and become children of God through faith in Jesus Christ. While providing for them the advantages of the best schools and the best masters, that they might receive an education suited to their high social position, it was his especial care, in full sympathy with their excellent mother, to furnish them at home with Christian nurture and admonition. In this highest direction of parental duty, his constant and best efforts were exerted; and here also he reaped the richest reward, not only in the satisfaction of seeing them gathered into the church on earth, and, one after another, going to rest in Christian hope, but also in the corresponding increase of his own faith, by means of his prayers and labors on their behalf, and through sympathy with their spiritual advance. Indeed, the period of his deepest Christian experience commenced before Amory's death, and was evidently connected in part with the influence of his earnest piety.

For many years, Mr. Appleton had been more or less under the sway of those religious principles which were instilled into his mind in infancy at the pastor's fireside in Brookfield, and afterwards diligently fostered by the

prayers and counsels of his faithful mother. He had been always scrupulously observant of the forms of religion, both in public and private; maintaining daily family devotion; never absenting himself from public worship on the sabbath, except from sickness or necessity; and usually attending, in addition, the special and occasional services of the Episcopal Church. All along through his mature life, there are traces of a powerful struggle going on in his heart between his worldly desires and his religious convictions. The former, strongly and abundantly supported by a brilliant array of allurements, though sometimes earnestly resisted, had never been effectually overcome: the latter, re-enforced from above, though occasionally baffled, had often returned to the conflict with renovated vigor. Yet the issue was still in suspense.

At length, in the year 1842, the religious purposes and aspirations of many years seem to have been providentially brought to a head. He devoted himself in earnest to Christian duties. His charitable bestowments were multiplied. He built St. Stephen's Church in this city, at a cost of twenty-five thousand dollars, and gave five thousand dollars for a Mission Church in China; besides seeking out other methods of dispensing alms, which he seemed to do with a will. He even took counsel with his son Amory as to the propriety of consecrating all his income, beyond his necessary expenses, to the service of Christ and the Church; and seriously meditated the noble purpose to do so. "The thought of having it in my power," he wrote at that period in his diary, "to do something to extend this

religion, which now makes me so happy even in sickness and pain; with such happiness as I could not find in health, surrounded with gay and pleasant friends, and enriched with all the comforts and luxuries of life, — the thought of having it in my power to lead others to believe in the cross of Christ fills me with grateful delight. May God Almighty strengthen me in well-doing!"

Mr. Appleton's character could not be justly portrayed without a reference to this important crisis in his religious life. However he may have been regarded by the public, and by those who met him occasionally in society and in business, the most marked and interesting feature of his real, his interior life, was the constant struggle to which we have alluded, on the part of the religious element, to obtain the ascendancy over his whole nature; and that epoch which he himself, and all who knew him best, regarded as the most eventful of his career, was the period in which he assumed a decisive Christian stand. He may not, in all respects and under all circumstances, have afterwards manifested the temper of a Christian; he may not have wholly overcome the love of the world; and he certainly did not fully carry into execution the disinterested purpose of his best hours: but, to admit as much as this, what is it but to acknowledge that he was subject to the same infirmities which many good men have had occasion to regret in themselves, and encountered the same hinderances which beset the path of every one who would live a godly life?

There are few men of business and wealth who more justly deserve the name of Christian, — a name

that we would never incautiously or indiscriminately apply. But we cannot call in question the validity of his title to that best of human distinctions, when we regard his moral purity and integrity; his regular and reverential observance of the outward forms of religion; the number and magnitude of his charitable bestowments; his frequent and liberal contributions to the institutions and enterprises of the Church; his unfeigned trust in God, and submission to the divine will; and his habitual endeavors to live in preparation for death and immortality.

The only qualification which has been made with reference to Mr. Appleton's claim to be commemorated as emphatically a Christian merchant, so far as we are aware, is that he was inordinately devoted to the acquisition of money. The simple fact of his having been a zealous and successful man of business and having accumulated a vast property, may, of itself, be regarded by some as a sufficient ground for such abatement. But there are other facts and considerations, not so immediately patent, which justice requires us to place in the opposite scale. We cannot doubt — in view of the extreme truthfulness for which he was distinguished, and which especially characterizes his private records — that the real purpose of his life is sincerely revealed in sentences like the following, which are found inscribed at intervals in his diary: —

“My wish is to make religion my first and great object in life. . . . I feel a deep interest in the cause of missions; and my inclination is to give the bulk of my income to religious objects, — not to missionaries only, but to the education of mini-

sters, and the encouragement of all workers for Christ. . . . I feel that the true test of the sincerity of a man's religion is his desire to impart it to others. . . . Most gladly would I increase and multiply my contributions, if I could only find objects that I could entirely approve, and be satisfied that larger bestowments would do good, and not harm. To give to individuals does not always benefit them; and even to give to churches sometimes takes from the energy and efforts of their members. Oh, may God purify my motives, and bless my gifts! . . . I have parted with a large fortune; but I have more satisfaction in what is gone than in what is left."

These are not the utterances of one who makes Mammon his god. And that they are not mere words, is evident from those numerous and sometimes munificent deeds of charity to which we have already referred, amounting in value to nearly half a million of dollars.

We do not deny, what he himself frankly admitted, that he loved the excitement and enterprise of trade, and found a keen satisfaction in success. His talents and training, his tastes and habits, peculiarly disposed and qualified him for a mercantile career. He was made for a merchant; and, as such, it was his instinctive and laudable aspiration to attain to eminence. He could not do this without being diligent in business, strict in his accounts, sagacious in his adventures, and prudent in his investments. He felt that the legitimate result, as well as the test and measure, of genius and energy in his vocation, is the gainful issue of commercial enterprises. Not to make money, would be, in one of his profession and with his capacities, a negligent use of his "five talents," and a forfeiture of that reputation and influence which nature and circumstances had placed

within his reach, and which it was not ignoble to desire. It is true, that a course of life in which the exercise and improvement of one's talents is thus involved with worldly cares, and the pursuit of riches, is accompanied with great hazard both to the moral and religious principles; and very few persons have passed through it with a "conscience void of offence towards God and towards men." But the course itself is one of those which seem to be providentially appointed for men, and the dangers are inseparable from it. That it was the path providentially marked out for himself, Mr. Appleton never doubted. He could not withdraw from it, without doing violence alike to his natural inclinations and his moral judgment. The sole alternative, therefore, was to go forward, and encounter its temptations while discharging its duties. It was a hard battle, and it closed only with his life; but he "fought a good fight, and kept the faith."

Many instances might be adduced to show that the eager prosecution of lucrative enterprises, which was one of Mr. Appleton's characteristics even to the last, and was by many confounded with an inordinate desire for money, was attributable, in a great degree, to other and more honorable motives. His strong and active intellect, stimulated by a nervous temperament, continually impelled him to plan and execute large and difficult enterprises.

"I must be busy," he said. "I don't know how to stop. . . . I love best to do that which is the most difficult. . . . That which others would not undertake pleases me most. . . . If my natural insight enables me to see farther than

most men in certain directions, my nature also compels me to make use of this endowment. . . . I can't help seeing openings for profit, neither can I help availing of them. I pray God to keep me from being avaricious, and proud of my success ; but I cannot bear the shame of falling below my own powers, and being left behind by those who are not my equals."

In accordance with the spirit and principles expressed in such sentences, he wrote as follows, in his diary, during the last few months of his life, while some of his friends were wondering at the interest which he still manifested in financial projects : —

" We are going rapidly into a paper currency. Prices of all kinds of stocks and commodities will materially advance. I cannot avoid taking an interest in speculations, and taking advantage of the rise which I foresee. I am endeavoring to show the younger part of the merchants, that an old merchant of seventy-five has faculties and energy left. *At the same time, I am thinking what I shall do with the profits on the pepper and saltpetre. I shall give part to the public, and part to destitute friends.*"

That such generous intentions were not illusory, the writer, if no one else, can bear witness. Mr. Appleton once consulted him as to the best mode of permanently relieving the necessities of a respectable clergyman, distantly connected with him by marriage, and to whom he had often generously contributed. It was first proposed to raise a sum sufficient for the purpose among a number of wealthy gentlemen to whom the individual in question was known. After some delay in selecting the persons to be applied to, and in other arrangements for starting the subscription, the writer at length frankly expressed his persuasion, that nothing could be done till Mr. Appleton had first signed his own name, together

with the amount that he would give. He paused thoughtfully for a few minutes, and then said, "After all, why should I trouble you to carry about a subscription-paper? My income is very large: I must give a good deal of it somewhere. The only question with me is, where I can bestow it best. What do you think of the propriety of my giving ten thousand dollars to Mr. — in trust for him and his family?" The reply did not, of course, discourage the generous thought.

This interview occurred on the day before Christmas. The next morning, Mr. Appleton rose at an early hour; and eager, as he always was, to carry his purpose into effect, and still more eager, in the nobleness of his nature, to brighten the dawn of that Christian festival for his poor friend, carried a note to his door with his own hand, announcing "good tidings" which filled his heart and his home with joy.

Mr. Appleton's kindness, however, did not exhaust itself in this munificent gift. Having taken hold of the case, he could not leave it till it was completely provided for. To relieve his friend from certain immediate embarrassments, a further sum was necessary. This was easily collected from a small number of benevolent individuals; and, in a few days, he had the satisfaction of setting a burdened heart free from present bondage, and securing a whole household against future want.*

* Since the above was written, we have ascertained that Mr. Appleton, shortly before his death, actually distributed the profits of his speculations in pepper and salt-petre, amounting to about seventy thousand dollars, in the manner referred to in his diary. With his very last breath, he indicated to his family, in scarcely intelligible accents, an object to which he desired to appropriate the sum of five thousand dollars. His request was complied with by his children immediately after his decease.

Much of his devotion to business was in a high degree disinterested. Not only did he seek to acquire property that he might have it in his power to give liberally, both publicly and privately; but some of the most arduous enterprises in which he engaged were to manage the perplexed affairs of his friends; to carry them through periods of great financial peril, and to save them from ruin. It is not too much to say, that, in several well-known instances of this sort, he did what no other man was found willing to attempt, if, indeed, any other would have been able to perform. For such services, he received, in many instances, the unbounded gratitude and respect of those to whom they were rendered; and will be held, by all who have knowledge of them, in honorable remembrance. Referring to this subject, an intimate friend of Mr. Appleton writes as follows:—

“There was one characteristic of his which deserves an honorable mention by the side of any others. That was his pertinacity in carrying out whatever beneficent thing he took in hand, at any cost of time or of money. There are a number of instances in which his social kindness saved the fortunes of his friends from wreck, and many more in which it relieved wants of the minutest sort and in the most effective way; showing a thoughtfulness and sagacity, and a self-identification with the suffering, which was surprising as it was admirable. Everybody, therefore, whom he had occasion to aid by any personal interest, always entertained for him a deep and tender affection, which of itself is ample voucher for the substantial excellence of his character.” *

After the dissolution of his partnership with Messrs. Paige and Chase in 1826, to which reference has here-

* Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, D.D., formerly Rector of St. Paul's, Boston.

tofore been made, Mr. Appleton pursued his business alone, occupying a counting-room in State Street, till 1841; when he admitted as partners his son, ~~John~~^{James} Amory Appleton, and Mr. (now Hon.) Samuel Hooper, under the style of William Appleton and Co. In 1852, several years after the death of his son, Messrs. F. G. Dexter and John H. Reed were received into the firm, which always maintained its high position among the commercial-houses, not only of Boston, but of the whole country.

The high esteem in which Mr. Appleton was held, both for his abilities and experience as a merchant and his excellent qualities as a man, often suggested his name to his fellow-citizens in connection with important offices, which his feeble health and general disinclination to public affairs induced him to decline. Had his taste and bodily strength allowed him, there is no reason to doubt that he might have wielded a much wider influence, and added in numerous directions to his high reputation. All the offices which he was prevailed upon to accept were discharged with characteristic energy and discretion.

In 1832, he was appointed President of the Boston Branch of the Bank of the United States. The conflict between the Government and that institution, which occurred soon after his election, and the financial crisis which ensued, rendered his administration peculiarly difficult, and called for the exercise of the utmost prudence and firmness. He insisted—to use his own language—that his own branch should be allowed to conduct its affairs on “fair and independent princi-

ples ;" and, by the aid of an able Board of Directors, he succeeded in so managing its concerns, that, while the closing of the parent bank and most of its subordinates was attended with much loss, the books of the Boston office showed a favorable balance.

Mr. Appleton was connected with the management of the Massachusetts General Hospital during a quarter of a century, and was president of that institution at the time of his death. He always manifested a lively interest in its benevolent purposes ; and the distinguished success which has attended its operations is attributed by its trustees in no small measure to his prudent counsels and well-directed munificence. According to their grateful testimony, "the fund which he established for the assistance of the curable insane has abounded in rich fruits ; and the buildings bearing his name at Somerville, which were erected at his suggestion and chiefly by his bounty, are honorable monuments both of his sagacity and his benevolence." The character and value of the endowment to which the trustees refer, as well as the motives of Mr. Appleton in making it, are well exhibited in the subjoined correspondence : —

"BOSTON, Jan. 8, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR, — I send herewith my check for ten thousand dollars, to be added to the fund I commenced many years since, to enable such patients, as would otherwise be compelled to leave imperfectly cured, to remain until a thorough re-establishment of health might be effected.

"The history of the origin of this fund may be interesting. Many years ago, in my early connection with the asylum and with my excellent friend Dr. Bell, my notice was attracted to a mother and daughter, the latter a patient

much improved in health by her treatment while an inmate of the establishment. The mother insisted on her removal; while the doctor expressed the opinion, that, if she left at that time, she would be obliged to return in a few weeks, while the same length of time spent at the asylum would thoroughly cure her. The mother insisted, however, on the ground that her own means and those of her friends were exhausted. She was pecuniarily unable to continue her child's residence at the hospital, however desirable, and even necessary, it might be. The daughter was a delicate person of some eighteen or twenty years of age, reluctantly, I thought, yielding to the necessity her mother had explained. I asked her if she would like to remain. She said 'she wished to get well, but could not stay.' I offered to pay the necessary expense. A mingled expression appeared to me to overspread her features. Her eye had a softened look of female delicacy. The desire to leave contended with the feeling of duty to remain; while, over all, the fearful look of wavering reason gradually prevailed. She remained at the asylum; and, after a few weeks, returned, entirely cured, to her friends; and, so far as I have been informed, was restored to usefulness in her humble vocation. For several years, I supplied the means to meet such cases as they occurred; until my success in business enabled me to commence the permanent fund, to which this will be added, and which, with the sum given by myself and the other executors of Mr. Samuel Appleton, now amounts to thirty thousand dollars.

"I have watched with interest and pleasure the benefit resulting from this appropriation. Would that others would see it as I have done! Their sympathies would be excited, and they would thank God for the ability and opportunity to join in so good a work.

"With much respect, yours sincerely,

"WM. APPLETON.

"Hon. H. B. ROGERS, Chairman Board of Trustees
Mass. General Hospital."

"BOSTON, 11th January, 1862.

"HON. WILLIAM APPLETON.

"DEAR SIR, — In the absence of Mr. Rogers, your interesting communication of the 8th instant, enclosing a check for ten thousand dollars, was presented to the trustees of the Hospital, yesterday afternoon, by Mr. Stevenson; and the duty, and, I will add, the pleasure, of acknowledging it, was assigned to me.

"The trustees gratefully accept this renewed expression of your benevolent interest. They have long been impressed by the blessings you have heretofore conferred upon the inmates of the asylum.

"The Appleton Buildings, erected chiefly by your contribution of twenty thousand dollars, afford all the comforts and luxuries of a refined home, greatly increasing the salutary influences of the institution; while the Appleton Fund *for the support of interesting indigent patients*, now enlarged to thirty thousand dollars, twenty thousand of which you have contributed, constantly reminds the trustees of your wisdom and beneficence.

"The income from this fund is the source from which many persons, whose circumstances were as interesting and as pathetic as that to which you refer as suggesting this endowment, have been supported through, perhaps, the deepest of all afflictions, and restored, wholly or in part, to health, usefulness, and peace. Others are now receiving the benefits of this fund, with the hopeful prospect of similar results. For those yet to be called upon to bear this discipline, this fund will be most faithfully cherished.

"The trustees are gratified to observe that you 'have watched with interest and pleasure the benefit resulting from this appropriation;' and they most cordially sympathize with you in the earnest wish, 'that others would see it as you have done. Their sympathies would be excited, and they would thank God for the ability and opportunity to join in so good a work.'

“You, sir, have the happiness which arises from the will and power to relieve the afflicted; but there are many made both happy and grateful by the blessings conferred on them by your noble contributions.

“With great regard, I remain, sir, faithfully yours,

“W. S. BULLARD.”

Mr. Appleton was chosen a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, not for any literary merit or any peculiar interest in historical studies, but as a representative of a class of men, whose eminent practical talents and achievements, exemplary integrity, influential position, and valuable services to civilization, this Society has always recognized. The names of those who, by augmenting the materials of a nation's prosperity, have helped to furnish and illustrate its history, are justly entitled to be enrolled with theirs who study and record it. Especially should there be a place reserved for such men in an association like this, when, in addition to the claims just referred to, they have contributed of their wealth and influence to the support of literature and art, and earned the honorable title of patrons of good learning.

In November, 1850, Mr. Appleton was elected a representative to Congress from the Suffolk District. He had accepted the nomination with diffidence and reluctance. It had been pressed upon him by his friends, whose estimate of his capabilities for the office was far higher than his own. He frankly expressed to them his fears that he might disappoint their expectations; and he privately recorded his anxiety as to the effect which the cares of public life, and the political

and social influences of Washington, might have upon his religious character. "I dread the thought of being drawn towards the world, and further from Him to whom my sole confidence and my service are due. I doubt myself. I put all my trust in God, and pray that he will direct and strengthen me."

The event, however, proved the wisdom of those who had selected him for this important trust. He discharged its duties, during the Congress of 1851-2 and that of 1853-4, with eminent ability. Though his voice was never heard in debate, yet he exerted a weighty influence, and most successfully promoted the interests of those whom he represented. His opinion upon the subjects with which he was conversant was always regarded with deference, and not unfrequently taken as authority. Members of both the great political parties asked his advice, assured of obtaining an independent and candid judgment; and even the higher officers of the Government sometimes availed themselves of his prudent counsels. The Committee of Ways and Means, on which he served during the whole period of his Congressional life, were greatly indebted to his experience and wisdom, and often expressed their high appreciation of his services. No man in Washington occupied a higher social position, received and extended a more generous hospitality, served his constituents more usefully or more honorably, or enjoyed a more unsullied reputation.

Mr. Appleton was for the third time chosen to Congress in 1861; having again, in deference to the urgent solicitations of his personal and political friends, waived his general unwillingness to engage in public life,

now increased by the precarious state of his health. He was just entering his seventy-fourth year. His feeble constitution, which had held out so long and endured so many labors only through the force and animation of his indomitable will and by means of a strict and prudent regimen, was evidently beginning to give way. He contemplated with deep solicitude the gloomy aspect of our national affairs, and looked forward with sad foreboding to the awful crisis which was impending. But he would not shrink from the post of duty to which the suffrages of his fellow-citizens had called him in this time of trial. Whatever strength remained to him; whatever wisdom or moderation or conciliatory influence he might be able to contribute,—he would not withhold from the service of his country.

“If I live,” he writes, “and have sufficient strength, I shall meet my responsibilities; but I feel them deeply, as I am old and weak. I am admonished that my days are numbered, and few. When I view the present state of this country,—but yesterday, enjoying greater privileges than any nation of ancient or modern times; to-day, apparently about to abandon those institutions that have raised us, since I was born, from a poor and feeble people of three or four millions to a vigorous and mighty nation of thirty, and to an equal rank with the leading powers of the world; insanely about to throw ourselves into chaos, without any real cause,—I am dismayed. We must feel that God is displeased with us; that our sins are such as to bring upon us sudden and severe chastisement. We say, continually, ‘God rules the world:’ I see nothing now that can save us from what would appear to be the greatest calamity that could befall our country, except His power to overrule the wills and passions of selfish and wicked men. God preserve us!”

He went to Washington with a heavy heart, but with a high and resolute purpose. His intimate acquaintance with some of the best families of the South, whose kind attentions had been lavished upon him during his frequent visits as an invalid to Charleston, and whose hospitality he had often reciprocated, had established towards them a strong attachment and sympathy. But no personal friendship could draw him aside from his supreme obligation to his country. The oath by which he had bound himself to defend the Constitution had been taken with his whole heart. He loved the Union with intense affection. Every sectional prejudice, whether of a Northern or a Southern leaning, his loyal mind had always rejected. He not only opposed, with all his ability, every measure and every word which tended to division, but sought to allay even the spirit of alienation. So long as there was any hope left of avoiding an open rupture, he neglected no legitimate means within his reach to prevent it. But, when the crisis came, he did not hesitate as to his duty. The very same principles of pure patriotism which had prompted his endeavors to preserve the Union from being severed, now moved him as heartily to sustain the Government, as the only means of restoring it; or, if a restoration should be impossible, as the only barrier and safeguard against utter national ruin. Having adopted this wise policy, he acted upon it with his accustomed energy and consistency. He gave his voice and his money for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Repugnant as it was to his feelings as a patriot and a humane and Christian man, he felt that it had been forced upon the Government; that it had

become a dire necessity; and that to carry it on energetically to a successful issue was not only the dictate of patriotism, but even of humanity.

Mr. Appleton remained in Washington during the summer session of 1861, till the close of July, when his failing health compelled him to return to Boston. He hoped, at first, that, after a temporary rest, he might be able to resume his seat in Congress; but the advice of his physicians and his rapidly increasing debility compelled him to resign it. The last days of his public service were spent in diligent attendance upon the meetings of the Committee of Ways and Means, who then had under consideration several measures particularly affecting the mercantile interests of his constituents. His own simple record of these closing labors will give the best impression, not only of their value, but of their extraordinary persistency:—

“ July 14. — Went this morning to Mr. Stevens, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, to obtain his consent to telegraph to Boston and New York that there was no cause of alarm as to their goods in the bonded warehouse. While at the telegraph-office, received a telegram announcing the death of my long-loved friend, Mr. Nathan Appleton. I had said that I would return to Boston on his decease; but I was told, and believed, that I could not do so without neglecting urgent duties in this place. My duty was evidently here. A bill for raising revenue was before the Committee of Ways and Means. No other merchant was on the committee. I remained, and secured for our shipping-merchants much advantage as to the time when the duties should take effect, and on the warehouse-goods. I feared, if I left, the bill might be changed in the House or Senate. I will not speak of the virtues of my dear departed friend. His character will be fully portrayed by others. Great purity of heart he possessed.

“ July 15. — At Committee and House till five o'clock.

“ 16. — Went to Committee at ten o'clock, and then to the House.

“ 17. — Very busy with tariff-bill. Went to the Treasurer in relation to his project as to wines and spirits. He said they had but imperfect information. Quite satisfied with the view of the Committee whom I represented.

“ 18. — Bill for increasing revenue passed the House. Went to see the Massachusetts troops.

“ 19. — At Committee and House. Much excitement as to our troops in Virginia.

“ 20. — House not in session. At Committee.”

He was confined to his room by sickness on the 21st, 22d, and 23d.

“ July 24. — Went to the House and Committee.

“ 25. — Went to Committee.

“ 26. — Went to Committee.

“ 27. — Quite ill. My physician told me to go home to the North as soon as possible.

“ 28. — Not well. Low spirits.

“ 29. — Went to Committee. Called on the President.

“ 30. — Quite feeble. Went to the Committee-room. Found all present. Stated to them that I found that my health was failing; and asked them, if, in their opinion, there remained any thing to be done for my constituents that would justify my remaining in Washington at the risk of my life. Mr. Stevens was kind enough to compliment me for my usefulness, and said that the work was done: as to the tariff, a Committee of Conference would do all that was now required; that he believed our bill would be sustained. They all took me by the hand, and said they hoped I would return again in December, &c., &c. I was most kindly treated and taken leave of by the Committee; in fact, by all.”

Such was the enviable close of his Congressional career and his public life. That little scene in the Committee-room, which he has so briefly and modestly described, but which others who witnessed it have portrayed in warmer colors, and that more general and miscellaneous leave-taking to which he refers as having been, without exception, kindly, are beautiful and touching tributes alike to the value of his services, the purity of his character, the weight of his influence, and the warmth of his heart. None surely but a most unselfish and upright man could have retired thus from the halls of Congress, and all the associations of the Capitol, without one bitter reflection, one pang of wounded vanity or disappointed ambition, one regret for words spoken, deeds done or duties neglected, one remembrance of injuries inflicted or suffered; with no other feeling in his heart than a tender sense of the universal kindness of others, and a sweet consciousness of his own unqualified good-will towards all.

He came back to Boston exhausted and enfeebled, not to prepare for death,—for that reasonable and religious duty had not been deferred to the uncertainties of the last hour,—but calmly to await it. For many years, admonished by his delicate health, it had been his endeavor “to set his house in order,” and to keep it so. At several periods, he had supposed the end to be at hand; and, at each of them, he had contemplated the event with the faith and composure of a Christian. His worldly affairs were always so honestly managed, and so prudently arranged, as to give him no anxiety in anticipation of his departure. His feelings towards his fel-

low-men, if in any instance disturbed during the day, were habitually pacified before the night. The only point in which he felt the need of a more perfect preparation was in regard to his spiritual aptitude for heaven; and for the full remedy of this insufficiency, inseparable from human imperfection, he earnestly besought the grace of God, and humbly relied upon the merits and intercession of the Redeemer.

He came home to await death; but not in supineness and seclusion. While he had strength to bear his armor, it was against his nature and his principle to lay it down. So long as his faculties were undimmed, he would keep them occupied. Until he must take his final leave of his friends, he felt it to be right to serve and enjoy them.

Day by day, his bodily strength failed; but there was no faltering of his spirit, and no decay of his heart. He kept at work, bravely and cheerfully, till God's time came for his labors to cease. Then, without reluctance, he dropped the instruments of his earthly service, meekly laid himself down, folded his hands upon his breast, fixed all his thoughts upon the crucified Saviour, and fell asleep.*

The foregoing cursory sketch of Mr. Appleton's life has brought into view some of his peculiar traits; but as they have come into notice with no regard to arrangement, and only in connection with the incidents which suggested them, they have necessarily been presented in a partial and fragmentary manner. Justice to his own

* He died at Longwood, near Boston, Saturday, Feb. 15, 1862.

distinguished merits, as well as fidelity to the duty which this Society has laid upon us, require not only a more detailed recognition of his prominent features, but an attempt to group them, as far as possible, into a life-like image of the man.

All his qualities were so positive, and so honestly and independently exercised, that no one who was acquainted with his character would find any difficulty in analyzing it. Indeed, to a degree which is seldom equalled, his character had moulded and stamped itself upon his form. His whole person was singularly expressive; it is not extravagant to say, *impressive*. His capacious forehead betokened a powerful and thoughtful intellect, quick to apprehend, sagacious to analyze, comprehensive to combine, and weighty to influence. His large and fine eye, so bright and keen in pursuit and scrutiny, so deep and often sad in repose, so soft and pleasant in friendly conversation and sympathetic moods, was but a truthful index to his thoughts, — now so intense and penetrating, then so serious and self-arraigning, and again so genial and kind. His pale face, sunken cheeks, and emaciated form, in connection with his quick motions, his impatient gestures, his decided and sometimes abrupt manner, and his concise, conclusive style, gave evidence of that fervid spirit and imperious will which tasked the delicate organization with which they were so unequally allied. With no stateliness nor peculiar grace, he was invested with an air of dignity and refinement which can only emanate from a pure and noble soul. His presence was felt in every company as none can be but that of the most individual and potential characters. His influence

was such as belongs only to those who are born to control. He bore the genuine credentials of a royal nature. He had the instinct and the look of authority, — the eye and the lip of command ; and, better than all, he wore the imperial signet of truth, and the princely robe of integrity. In any station, he would have made his mark ; in any path, he would have risen to distinction. No measure of success could relax his energy, and no amount of difficulty discourage his exertions. Facilities and obstacles were alike incentives. Whatever sagacity could devise, courage adventure, or persistency achieve, he was sure to accomplish.

And yet, with all his independence, his quickness of temper, his pertinacity of will, and his peremptoriness of manner, there were combined tender affections, generous sympathies, liberal sentiments, and a kind and forgiving disposition. Though habitually irritable, he was never vindictive. No residue of resentment outlasted the hasty utterance. If his tongue had inadvertently inflicted a sudden pang, his hand was instantly ready to relieve it. In the long record of forty years of his life, which is before us, with all its allusions to the numerous individuals with whom he had been brought into contact in social, commercial, and political intercourse, there is positively not one uncharitable word, nor even so much as a single unkind insinuation. If there are any reproaches, they are visited upon himself. He never disparaged others, but strove to keep his own heart humble. While earnestly aspiring after the highest honors and rewards which nature or circumstances led him to pursue, he never sought to raise himself by pull-

ing another down. He kept his heart above mean rivalries, and he spurned the tricks of ambition. He would deserve honor, not beg for it; and secure success by merit, not by intrigue. All the prizes which he obtained, of wealth, of mercantile reputation, of social rank, of personal respect and public distinction, he lawfully pursued and fairly won. Nor, when they were attained, were they selfishly enjoyed or arrogantly paraded; but his heart expanded with his gains, and his private and public services were multiplied with his honors.

But, while diligently pursuing, and obtaining, these earthly treasures, his heart was never turned away from the heavenly. While reaping in ample measure the golden harvest of his temporal labors, he never ceased to "have respect unto the recompense of reward." The best part of his life, and the most praiseworthy of his attainments, were only partially seen of men. They recognized, indeed, the purity of his conversation and conduct, his scrupulous fidelity to his engagements, his benevolence, his reverence for things sacred, his punctual observance of the forms of religion, and some of the more costly offerings which he dedicated to Christ and the Church; but there were holier and lovelier things, of which all those conveyed but a partial idea, hidden behind the veil. Having lifted that veil, so far as his diary enables us, with a reverent hand, we have caught glimpses of a secret life, which casts all those outward works and virtues into the shade. We have seen the manifestations of a strong religious faith, a childlike submission, a lively gratitude, a deep humility, a daily hunger and thirst after righteousness, a constant warfare

with the flesh and the world,—traces of a profound Christian experience, a continual growth in grace, and a gradual ripening of the character for heaven.

We have no misgivings in holding up such a life before the young men of New England, as worthy of honor and emulation. In the lengthening roll of those princely merchants whose unsullied integrity has established the commercial credit of Boston, whose munificence has endowed its institutions of learning, charity, and religion, and whose honorable lives have been among its noblest ornaments, the name of William Appleton, in view of the various qualities which exalt his vocation, illustrate the benefactor, approve the Christian, and dignify the man, though it may not be entitled to pre-eminence, deserves no second place.

[The following letter from one whose intimate acquaintance with Mr. Appleton, as well as his practised and graceful pen, give authority to his words, is a memoir in itself.]

“PHILADELPHIA, January, 1863.

“REV. AND DEAR SIR,

“Your request, that I should furnish you with a few reminiscences of my dear friend William Appleton, has lain too long unanswered. You have about you those who have seen him more intimately in his walk as a Christian, a citizen, and a man of business; and I can hardly hope to add any thing to their contributions. Yet I gladly pay a slight tribute to one whom I had strong reason to love and honor, and who may well be held up before the young as an example.

“I first knew Mr. Appleton in the early part of the year 1826; and, from that time to the day of his death, I saw him as frequently and familiarly as often happens to men engaged in different pursuits, and living most of the time remote from each

other. During five years, at the beginning of our acquaintance, it was my privilege to minister to him in holy things, and I was then his near neighbor and friend. The intimacy then formed has continued with unabated cordiality, and I have at times been an inmate of his family for several weeks. As I stood, in February last, over his cold remains, my memory reproduced most vividly the first occasion on which I saw him, and the impression which the interview of a few hours made upon me. His emaciated figure and pale face, his ample forehead, and eye beaming with kindness, his quick and decided motions, and his spare and somewhat hesitating speech, all told of broken health, of an active and shrewd mind, of a strong but mastered will, of a genial and most benevolent heart. It seemed evident, at once, that he was a man of action rather than of words; and one who, without claiming or even desiring it, would naturally take a large share in the direction of any affairs with which he had more immediate connection. Such he has appeared to me ever since. Of his course in business, I knew little. When he came to his home, the schemes and cares of the counting-room seemed to be laid aside. He gave himself to his guests, his friends, and, above all, to his family. Whatever would promote their happiness or welfare, formed, unconsciously, his great care. All neighborly acts, such as most men and especially men of feeble health and in his situation of life, would scarcely have thought of, were his delight. They were performed so constantly, and with such apparent ease and self-forgetfulness, that you hardly remembered that they were favors. He enjoyed conversation greatly, though not taking a large share in it. His range of information was not great; but his judgment always struck me as singularly correct. There was, on practical questions, a quickness and precision which seemed intuitive, and usually a great absence of prejudice and passion. At one time, I had frequent occasion to consult him; and, though it was on subjects foreign from his accustomed cares and pursuits, his opinions were eminently judicious.

“ You ask me more particularly in regard to his religious history. I am sorry that on this point I cannot give information that is very full or definite. When I was his pastor, he did not profess to be a decidedly Christian man. He had been faithfully instructed by godly parents ; and for his mother, who survived, he cherished a profound reverence. But the cares of the world and the blandishments of society had insensibly shaken his faith in some of those principles of Christianity which formed the stay and solace of his later years, as they had been the staple of his earlier teachings. His mind, when I first knew him, seemed to yearn for the support and satisfaction of a clearer and stronger faith in spiritual realities, but to recoil from the effort and the sacrifices by which it was to be won. The charms of things seen were in evident conflict in his mind with things unseen ; and his intense devotion to business, combined with his deference for those about him, gave advantage to the former. At times, he rebelled against exhibitions of what I regarded as truth ; and I recollect, with deep interest, long conversations which on such occasions I have had with him. His acuteness and strong sense were sometimes more than a match for my crude thoughts ; and I have always felt that the scrutiny to which his active mind subjected my preaching at this time, when I was just beginning my ministry, was no small service to me. His questionings were always kind and respectful : they evinced a mind searching for truth ; though it was sometimes quite obvious that it was more for the satisfaction of a speculative curiosity than for the instruction and edification of his moral nature. At others, his whole soul seemed to brood over the great problems of our higher life ; and I thought, that, during the few years he was my parishioner, there was evident progress in the depth and active power of his religious convictions. I left Boston in the year 1831. Not long after, severe domestic bereavements, the faithful preaching of my successor, and his deep sense of responsibility as a parent, all contributed to fix his purpose for life ; and he became an avowed follower of his Lord.

“I ought to add, that he was, from the beginning, a most liberal supporter of the church (St. Paul’s) which he attended. When I took charge of it, it was burdened with heavy debts. Though at that time he kept no carriage, and indulged in few unnecessary expenses, he boldly assumed the principal burden ; and it was mainly through his generosity and decision that the parish was carried through a very serious crisis. His hand was, at that time, always open to any good call that was made upon his sympathy or public spirit. I can bear most grateful testimony to the considerate and delicate kindness with which he always treated his pastor and his pastor’s family.

“During all the years that I knew him, he exhibited an admirable self-mastery. A great dyspeptic, with a morbid appetite, he was inexorable to all the temptations of the table. With intense native energy, and great fondness for the hazards and successes of trade, he seemed, on system, to restrain himself from becoming entirely engrossed and enslaved. A father, sorely afflicted and bereaved, he never betrayed impatience. When, not many years since, one of the heaviest domestic calamities seemed impending, and after he had received one crushing blow after another, he said to me at an accidental meeting, ‘This seems the knell of my earthly hopes. The past has been bitter ; this exceeds in bitterness. But, much as I have suffered, I feel that I have needed it all ; and, in my prayers to my heavenly Father, my first request is, “Thy will be done.” If more chastening be necessary to subdue my pride, to humble my self-will, to cure my devotion to things earthly, let it come. Him who hath borne such agonies for my sake, and who loves me with a love passing all human affection, I can trust. Not my will, but his.’

“It is said, that, as he grew old, he did not escape entirely that which has been called ‘the vice of old age.’ It has also been intimated, that his religious sensibilities had been somewhat dulled in his later years by contact with political life. Of this I cannot speak with any confidence, not having met him as frequently or as intimately as before. I can only say, that, so

far as I did see or know him through all his advancing age, he seemed to me an earnest, godly man ; fighting — as who of us does not ? — but fighting valiantly and prayerfully against ‘ the world, the flesh, and the devil.’

“ It is now the first day of a new year (1863). Thirty-seven years have nearly passed since first I saw him. During all that time, William Appleton has seemed to me a rare man. As a neighbor and friend, as a citizen and merchant, as a father and husband, he was one of Nature’s noblemen. As he advanced in life, he was enriched and endowed by grace, and became a fountain of temporal and spiritual blessings to many, near and far off. I have seen him (how often !) at his board, surrounded by his large and lovely family, radiant with happiness, giving and receiving nothing but joy. I have seen his children growing up, and then cut down, one after another, when surrounded by the brightest and gayest hopes. His admirable wife — so full of all amenities, and so abundant in works of kindness — I have seen succumbing under the weight of one domestic sorrow after another, and finally resigning herself to death. Himself I have seen, — left alone in the house that for more than forty-five years had been his cherished home, broken in health, burdened with the weight of more than three-score years and ten. I have heard of him, with mind unclouded and spirit serene, making all his preparations deliberately for his last hour, and entering the dark valley with humble but unfaltering trust in his Almighty Redeemer. Could more have been wished for him ? ‘ Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord. Even so, saith the Spirit ; for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.’

“ I am, dear sir, yours very truly,

“ALONZO POTTER.

“REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D.”

MARCH MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, March 12, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the American Philosophical Society; the Chicago Historical Society; the Sussex Archæological Society; Mr. Thomas Y. Crowell; William J. Dale, M.D.; B. P. Johnson, Esq.; H. Phillips, jun., Esq; David Pulsifer, Esq.; Hon. Joseph Segar; M. Jules E. Souchart; Rev. Frederic A. Whitney; Nathaniel Willis, Esq.; and from Messrs. Folsom, Lincoln (S.), Robbins (C.), Shurtleff, Wheatland, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President laid on the table a new volume of the Society's Collections, being Volume Sixth of the Fourth Series, published under the charge of the Committee on the publication of the Winthrop Papers.

On motion of Mr. R. FROTHINGHAM, it was *voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Charles Deane, Esq., and Rev. Dr. Robbins, the Publishing Committee of the volume of the Society's Collections, this day presented to the Society, for their valuable and most satisfactory service; and especially to the President, for his liberality in the use of the rare and important original material from which the main portion of this volume has been selected.

Voted, That the same gentlemen be hereby re-appointed, and be requested to continue their labors in

preparing another volume, in continuation of the Winthrop Papers, to be published at such time as in their judgment may be expedient.

A letter was read from Rev. A. L. Baury, presenting to the Society a piece of plate, supposed to have been attached to a coffin, which was found buried in the guano, about twelve feet deep, on the middle Chincha Island, on the coast of Peru. It had been exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London, and estimated by that body to be three or four hundred years old. At the Government Assay Office in London, it was pronounced to be pure silver.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Rev. Mr. Baury for this donation to the cabinet.

Hon. Luther Bradish of New York was elected an Honorary Member, and Rev. William G. Eliot, D.D., of St. Louis, a Corresponding Member, of the Society.

In view of the annual meeting, the President nominated, as a Committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts, Hon. Amos A. Lawrence, Hon. Charles G. Loring, and Hon. William Sturgis; and, as a Committee of Nomination of Officers of the Society, Rev. Dr. Lothrop, Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, and Henry A. Whitney, Esq.

Colonel ASPINWALL communicated a paper on "William Vassall no Factionist."

William Vassall no Factionist.

When the ancient Egyptians followed out their custom of sitting in judgment upon the character of the recently dead, all the means and materials for forming a correct decision were at

hand, fresh in the memory of multitudes of witnesses, friends, and enemies ; and, of course, it was comparatively easy to frame a faithful and permanent record of the merits of the departed. Any long postponement of their posthumous adjudication would have deprived them of these ready means of information, and have increased, to an injurious extent, the chances of error. After the lapse of a century, they might often, as we sometimes do, in pure ignorance, have fastened a badge of infamy upon men of earlier days who merited the gratitude of the world, or have canonized a rogue for a saint.

Those who canvass the merits of individuals not in official stations, but more or less conspicuous here one or two centuries ago, can gain no light, except from the few necessarily imperfect, and sometimes deceptive, data which are scattered over the pages of the printed books, or buried away in manuscripts, connected with our local history. A laborious and faithful search for facts frequently leaves the inquirer at fault, because he has failed to ferret out every hidden atom extant, or because some unknown letter or document has, in the interim, been brought to light, that overthrows all his preconceived opinions.

Under such circumstances, it would be unjust to deal out harsh criticisms upon any honest commentator, who, from a misplaced confidence in his guide, or writing (as correspondents of the periodical press generally do) on the spur of the moment, happens to express a wrong and injurious opinion in regard to some one of our early colonists. Yet the cause of truth, charity to the living, and justice to the dead, make it a duty, wherever it can be done, to rescue from unmerited opprobrium the good name of any one who is no longer on earth to plead in his own behalf.

Under a sense of this duty, I wish to say something in defence of the character of William Vassall, one of the earliest and most active of the original promoters of the settlement of

Massachusetts. The fitness or unfitness of the family motto, whether as regards the inscription on General M'Clellan's sword or the peculiar characteristics of individuals of the Vassall Family, I leave to those who think the game worth pursuing. My purpose is to do him justice by bringing forward the whole truth. Part of it has recently been told in the journals of this city.

The opinions of Winthrop, Hubbard, and Winslow, have been cited to show that William Vassall was "of a busy, factious spirit," and "always opposed to the Civil Government of the country and the way of the churches here." They were undoubtedly sincere in their opinions. Judged by their standard, he was little better than a breeder of sedition. The Colonial Government, both in Church and State, arrogated an infallibility nearly as absolute as that of the Papacy. The system and the acts of neither branch were allowed to be questioned. Even to petition for redress of legalized grievances was held to be contempt, if not defiance, of the Government; and, accordingly, it was punished by fines, imprisonment, disfranchisement, and exile. In religious belief and practice, every one was required to conform to the local Orthodoxy, under like penalties; which were rigidly exacted, unless the party arraigned submissively recanted and acknowledged his error.

Hubbard depended chiefly upon Winthrop for the facts in his history, as far as the journal of the latter extends; and Winthrop, in turn, derived his knowledge of Vassall's factiousness from the account given him by Winslow.

I am aware that Hubbard gives an earlier date to the contumacy of Vassall; which would bring it within the personal observation of Winthrop, if it were true. He says Vassall "came over in 1630, when he was chosen Assistant; but not complying with the rest of his party, nor yet able to make a party amongst them, returned to England soon after." Here

Hubbard's habitual carelessness leads him into a misrepresentation of facts — a contradiction of his own previous statements, and a calumnious accusation of the dead — which is not supported by any contemporary account, but is substantially refuted by the actual condition and circumstances of the time and place.

Vassall was not chosen Assistant when he came over. He was made Assistant, in the outset, by the charter itself, by election on the 13th of the following May, by re-election on the 20th of October, in the same year (1629), when Winthrop was first chosen Governor, in contemplation of the transfer of the Charter and Government to this country; and as Assistant, on the 23d of March, 1630, attended, on board the “*Arbella*” at Southampton, the last Court of Assistants held in England (Mass. Rec., i. 11, 40, 60, 70).

He came over in the same fleet with Winthrop and the other Assistants; and went back, with his family, in the “*Lion*,” which was sent out for provisions in July, “the first month after his reaching these shores.” His family, at that time, comprised his wife and their four children from one to eleven years of age (Dudley, 15; Savage, Gen. Dict., iii. 52; iv. 367).

He never attended a court in this country; for there was none held till about a month after his departure. He could, consequently, have had no *public* opportunity for caballing against the Government (Mass. Rec., i. 73).

If he did so *privately*, it could not be for any difference of religious opinion; for he was as Orthodox as Winthrop himself. In England, he co-operated with his colleagues in providing ministers for the plantation, and signed the letters of advice and instructions intended for their guidance. He was the friend and correspondent, at a later period, of Cotton, and others of the Orthodox clergy: and in his letters respecting the church at Scituate, which eminently display the characteristics of the gentleman and Christian, he makes the basis of his

argument, against the claim of Chauncy to oust the remnant of Lathrop's congregation from their possession of the local Orthodox Church, the very same objections which Winthrop and the Boston clergy made to Chauncy ; namely, that he insisted on baptism by immersion exclusively, and on administering the Lord's Supper every sabbath and in the evening (Mass. Rec., i. 408 ; Deane's Scituate, 84-9, &c.).

That, within the three or four weeks of Vassall's stay, an opportunity for carrying on an intrigue against the Government would have been found in the actual busy and distressed condition of the infant Colony, is hardly conceivable. The attention of all and every one was absorbed in the hard and ceaseless struggle against personal and domestic wants and distress. The time of his stay also hardly sufficed for unlading, transporting, and securing the luggage and stores brought over. There was only one house in Charlestown, the chief place of resort. Most of the emigrants were rudely sheltered in tents and huts that did not exclude the rain. The stock of provisions had chiefly been spoiled on the voyage ; and fresh supplies were stopped by false reports that none were wanted. Bread, flesh-meat, and vegetables were scarcely to be had. The season for planting was past ; and the general food consisted ordinarily of clams, and occasionally of fish. The water was brackish ; and the only spring found was covered by the sea at each rise of the tide. It may well be supposed, that pestilence and death followed in the train of these hardships and privations. Every heart was appalled by the impending famine and the increasing mortality. Fuller the surgeon, on the 2d of August, wrote to Governor Bradford, "The sad news here is, that many are sick, and many are dead. I can do them no good ; for I want drugs, and things fitting to work with" (Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 76 ; Rog. Clapp, 19, 38-40 ; Dudley, 16, 21).

The single circumstance, that Governor Winthrop was, at

this identical period, in deep affliction for the death of a beloved son in the flower and promise of early manhood, was quite enough to make any civilized man forbear to add to his cares or sorrows.

To account for Vassall's early return to England, it is only necessary to remember the contrast between the wild and cheerless plantation his family were then in and the loved old home they had left in England; and to reflect that he was a father, anxious to shield his wife and children from all unnecessary exposure to famine, disease, and death. The only course he ought to take, under the circumstances, was to return to England. He came back in 1635, with an addition of two daughters to his family; and, shortly after, fixed his abode at Scituate, where he built a house, and remained nearly eleven years. He then returned to England, and went afterwards to Barbadoes; and there he died about 1655 (Savage, *ut supra*; Winth., ii. 321).*

It is worthy of notice, that Winthrop says nothing against Vassall until the month of May, 1646. In the preceding year, on the 25th of November, Edward Winslow wrote him a letter (Hutch. Coll., 153), in which he gives the history of "a matter of great concernment," originated in a Court of Assistants, — "*other things giving opportunity*," — when there were present only Governor Bradford, Mr. Collier, Captain Standish, and Winslow, (three out of the seven Assistants); and where it was agreed to postpone it to the next General Court,

* If the conjecture of Mr. Savage be true, that William Vassall came, in his first voyage, without either wife or children, the urgency of his return to England would be quite as obvious as it is upon the ground alleged in the text. Dudley, who knew, says, "With this ship ('Lion') returned Mr. Vassall, one of the Assistants, *with his family*. The list from the State-paper Office (Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, iii. 898) says, Mr. Vassall and *his wife*. It is true, as Mr. Savage says, that "a child of one year old might naturally have claimed a mother's care:" but it would not be necessary for the mother, on that account, to remain in England; for her maternal care could have been bestowed on board ship as well on Ann, in 1680, as on her sister Mary, of the same age, in 1635, when the whole family came over.

although that was a Special Court of Elections, and not one of ordinary business. Being so propounded, "after a whole day's agitation," it was allowed, and entered on the waste-book; one deputy objecting, that "it did not properly concern that Court." In the following week, the regular General Court was attended by several Assistants who had been absent on the two previous occasions, as well as by the Deputies generally. Prince, who had been ill, came in to the support of the Governor and Winslow; but Collier staid away, and Standish joined the opponents of the measure with two other magistrates. Exception was taken to the entry of the order, "after a tumultuous manner, as pernicious and destructive to the weal of the Government. . . . They cried out to have it defaced and crossed." This the Governor, Prince, and Winslow could not consent to; but promised to leave it to the next Court, where it might be repealed if the country thought fit.

I can find no trace of any such order in the Records of the Colony of Plymouth; but in the Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, subjoined to those records, there is (vol. i. 81) a recommendation to the General Courts of the Colonies, for the exclusion from membership, in any of their churches, of all persons who do not hold particular tenets, and bind themselves by covenant to observe the laws and duties of the spiritual corporation; for refusing baptism to all but *such* members and their *immediate* seed; and for "the seasonable and due suppression of Anabaptists, Familists, Antinomians, and all other like errors, which oppose, undermine, and slight the Scriptures, &c., . . . under a deceitful color of liberty of conscience."

This recommendation, dated at Hartford the 18th of September, 1646, is, I suppose, substantially the measure which Winslow and others had designed for Plymouth. John Brown and Timothy Hatherly, the two Assistants, who, with Standish, as mentioned above, opposed them, were the Plymouth Com-

missioners for that year; and their dissent is signified by the note which follows the recommendation, in these words: "The Commissioners of Plymouth desire further considerations concerning this advice given to the General Court."

The opponents of this order were not content with having stopped its progress. Winslow goes on to say, "After this, the first exceptor" (*i.e.*, Vassall the Deputy, who singly objected to its consideration at the Court of Elections) "having been observed to tender the view of a scroll from man to man, it came at length to be tendered to myself; and withal, said he (Vassall), it may be you will not like this. Having read it, I told him *I utterly abhorred it*, as such as would make us odious to all Christian commonweals. . . . *The sum of it was, to allow and maintain full and free tolerance of religion to all men that would preserve the civil peace, and submit unto Government; and there was no limitation or exception against Turk, Jew, Papist, Arian, Socinian, Nicholaytan, Familist, or any other,*" &c.

Vassall having desired the Governor to submit his proposition to the consideration of the Court, the Governor and others, especially Winslow and Prince, "expressed the sad consequences (that) would follow. Yet, notwithstanding, it was required, according to order, to be voted. But the Governor *would not suffer it to come to vote*, as being that indeed (which) would eat out the power of godliness," &c.

Winslow adds below, "You would have admired to have seen how sweet *this carrion* relished to the palate of *most of the Deputies*." He also designates Vassall, anonymously, as "the ringleader of this rout," and the one who had "made beforehand (*i.e.*, brought over to his own side) Standish, the two other Assistants, and many of the Deputies."

To which of the leaders in this contest the name of factionist most justly belongs, it is not difficult to determine. On one side, official power was perverted to prevent the exercise of a

fundamental and vital privilege of a representative and legislative Assembly, the free expression of its collective will and judgment upon the subjects brought before it: on the other side, the claim made is simply to be free to discharge the duty which they were sent by their constituents to perform. On one side, a measure is concocted in a thin Court of Assistants; next so managed as to be entered upon the waste-book in an improper General Court; and this surreptitious entry is afterwards arbitrarily refused to be expunged, in despite of the wishes and rights of the first and only Court in which the question could legally be debated. The other party, on the contrary, brings forward its favorite measure openly: it is shown frankly "from man to man;" and even to the leader of the hostile party, with a courteous and modest doubt of his approval. Hutchinson gives Vassall the character of "a gentleman of a pleasant, affable disposition;" and even Hubbard allows that he was "a man of a pleasant and facetious wit;" and, as he was accustomed to the urbanity and more liberal intercourse of a large and wealthy metropolis, it was natural that he should wish to soften down the rigid and exclusive spirit that spread gloom and chill over Colonial society. He was no bigot or fanatic, but allowed to others the same liberty of conscience which he claimed for himself. When he found his efforts in favor of civil and religious freedom unavailing, he quietly left the scene of contest. The principles which he advocated on the occasion alluded to, as well as those which Winthrop charges him with suggesting and abetting the year following, in connection with the petition of Dr. Childe and others, are now the boasted foundation and corner-stone of our civil and political system; while those upheld by his accusers are banished to the darkest and most enslaved regions of the earth (Hutch., i. 145; Mass. Hist. Coll., 2d ser., vol. vi., p. 500; Winth., ii. 260).

Mr. DEANE read a portion of a letter from William Palfrey to John Wilkes, of London, on the Boston Massacre, as follows:—

Letter from William Palfrey to John Wilkes.

MARCH 18. [1770]

I was oblig'd to break off the above by the alarm of ringing a Bell which I at first imagin'd to be for fire, & being not quite recover'd of my late illness did not quit the house but sent my servant to see where it was. He very soon return'd & told me there was no fire but that some of the inhabitants & soldiers were fighting near King Street. I immediately ran out towards the scene of action & had just got to the East end of the Court house which makes the front of King Street, when I heard the discharge of six or seven musquetts. I ran with many others towards the place, where I was witness to one of the most shocking scenes that ever was exhibited in a Christian Country. Three unhappy victims lay weltering in their gore; two others mortally wounded, & six others dangerously. This inhuman piece of barbarity was perpetrated by a party of eight men under the command of one Cap^t Tho^s Preston of the 29th Regiment. All the bells in Town were immediately rung. The inhabitants gather'd. Some in attempting to remove the dead & wounded were threaten'd & wounded by the soldiers. The Governor met his Council the same night, & he requested the people to disperse and promis'd they should have justice done them. They very justly urg'd to His Honor that the course of justice had been always hitherto evaded or obstructed in favor of the soldiery, and they were determin'd not to disperse till Cap^t Preston was committed. Accordingly at three o'clock in the morning he was taken into custody & committed.

The return of morning exhibited a most shocking spectacle; the gutters of the street running with blood, & the snow on the ground dyed crimson with the blood & brains of our fellow citizens.

I went the next morning to view one of the bodies; when I was call'd upon a jury of inquest. In the course of the examination many witnesses were sworn, which enables me to give you a more circumstantial account of the matter than you may possibly receive from others, unless they had the same advantage.

I have frequently mention'd to you the repeated abuses & insults which have been offer'd by the Military to the inhabitants & Civil

authority of this town. In most of their small skirmishes lately they have been worsted, which has irritated them to a great degree. Add to this the insolent behavior of the 16th Reg^t at New York which greatly encourag'd those here to a repetition of their abusive behavior.

It appear'd by the oaths of credible witnesses that Soldiers had been to the houses of some of their friends the Sunday Evening before this tragical event happen'd, and desir'd them, as they tender'd their own safety, to keep out of the way the two nights following: that there would be more blood shed then, than ever was known since the country had been settled. The next night an attack was begun at the same hour in eight different parts of the town, by a number of Soldiers arm'd with cutlasses & bayonets, who insulted & wounded divers of the inhabitants. At the house call'd Murray's Barracks a small distance from King Street they abus'd a number of Lads, who howeuer soon beat them into their quarters; from whence they immediately return'd with a large reinforcement. The lads had left the spot & went thro' a lane towards King Street, at the corner of which stands the house improv'd by the Commissioners. A centinel was plac'd near the door.* The soldiers in their pursuit brandish'd their swords at several persons who were quietly passing the street; one of them who ask'd them whether they intended to kill the inhabitants, was answered, "Yes, by G-d, root & branch." They afterwards met two officers & asked them what was the matter, they answered you'll see presently. The centinel at the Custom house door on seeing the lads approach loaded his piece, which they seeing gatherd near and laugh'd at him without offering any other insult. Cap^t Preston who was officer of the day, was at his lodgings, & being inform'd there was a disturbance in King street went to the Main Guard, from whence he took eight men & order'd them to load with ball. While he was proceeding from the Main Guard to the Custom house, which is not above forty yards distance, he was stop'd by one of his acquaintance who ask'd him if his mens' guns were loaded; he replied "yes." He was then ask'd if he intended to fire, answer'd "no by no means." He was ask'd the same questions by another, & replied in

* This has been Customary since the Regiments were quarter'd here. The town have ever since kept a strong military watch, not only to prevent a rescue of the prisoners which was threatened by the soldiers, but also to prevent the lower sort of our own people from making any attempt to revenge the murder of their brethren.

a hasty manner, "I know my duty." While he was thus engag'd in discourse, his men were swearing & pushing with their bayonets at the people who from a motive of curiosity had gather'd round, the Cap^t then went on with his party, who push'd their way with their bayonets till they came to the Custom house door where they drew up in form.

They had stood at the Custom house but a few minutes when a snow ball struck the Granadier on the Right. Cap^t Preston then gave the word "Fire!" The soldiers made a short pause: he then said, "Damn you, why don't you fire"! This was sworn to by two witnesses. Twelve or thirteen others swore they heard the word "fire"! given, but could not tell by whom. One swore he took it to be by the Grenadier on the right who fir'd the first gun. Cap^t Preston absolutely denies his giving any orders to fire, but says he said "Don't fire"! It is impossible, considering the Consternation people were in, to give such an account of the matter as would perfectly agree in every minute circumstance. It was however agreed by all the witnesses that no insult was offer'd to Cap^t Preston or his party. It seems plain, upon the whole, that the Cap^t must have had an intention of firing upon the people, notwithstanding his declaration to the contrary; otherwise, why should he order his men to load with ball?

There is a pretty good account of the whole matter in Edes' & Gill's paper of the 12th instant, which I should have sent, but intend this for the post as I chuse you should have as early an account as possible of this bloody tragedy.

The inhabitants, being justly alarmed at so atrocious a murder, assembled the next day to the number of upwards of three thousand, & chose a committee to wait on His Honor the L^t Governor, to acquaint him that the repeated insults of the Military & the late Massacre render'd it impossible for the inhabitants & soldiers any longer to dwell together; & concluded with a request to His Honor to order the troops immediately to quit the town.

He return'd for answer Gov^r Bernards old story, "that he had no authority over the Kings Troops," and added, that he had communicated their Message to Coll^o Dalrymple, who in consideration of the part which the 29th had acted in the affair of the 5th inst, had agreed they should be sent to the Castle, about a league from the town, & that he would confine his own Regiment to their barracks. This answer was unanimously voted unsatisfactory, & the inhabitants determin'd to remain together until measures could be taken to oblige

the troops to quit the town. They voted another Message to His Honor, which he communicated to his Council, who were unanimously for the removal of the troops; to which with much difficulty Coll^o Dalrymple at length consented. The 29th have since been sent down, & the embarkation of the 14th begins this day. We shall soon get rid of our Military inmates, & I hope the town will thereby be restor'd to its former state of tranquility.

Nothing can equal the spirit which was shown on this melancholly Occasion. The people, tho' drove almost to despair by this act of violence, and ready to take immediate vengeance on the offenders, were however restrain'd by the example & persuasion of many of those very men who have been on your side the water branded as incendiaries, & enemies of Great Britain. If there had ever been any intention in the Colonies to rebel, what a fair opening was here made! The military, without the least provocation, slaughtering the unarm'd, defenceless & innocent citizins. The Country for a great distance round was alarm'd & prepar'd themselves to join the people in Boston upon the first signal, & however despicable an opinion Coll^o Dalrymple or his associates may entertain of the Bostonians, I assure you, Sir, forty thousand men could have been brot into the gates of this city at 48 hours warning.

On Thursday last the bodies of four of the unhappy sufferers were buried. The coffins form'd a junction in Kingstreet, and by the best calculation it was suppos'd ten thousand persons were present on the mournful occasion. And, to reflect on the consequences of G-r Barnard's & the Commissioners' execrable policy in procuring these troops to be quarter'd in the body of this Metropolis! I hope this fatal event will be properly resented by our fellow subjects in GB, & if a pardon should be solicited for the delinquents, which I suppose will be the case, that the whole nation will oppose it.

I cannot leave this subject without doing justice to Cap^t Preston so far as to inform you that before this unfortunate event, he always behav'd himself unexceptionably & had the character of a sober, honest man & a good officer,—but Influence, fatal influence!

I have just heard that Coll^o Dalrymple is a candidate for our Government. I pray God most heartily we may never be govern'd by a Scotchman, & above all by a Military Scotchman.

MR. R. FROTHINGHAM stated the substance of a letter, on the same subject, which Lieutenant-Governor Hutch-

inson addressed to Lord Hillsborough, and which is recorded in Hutchinson's letter-books.

Thomas Hutchinson to Lord Hillsborough.

Boston, March, 1770.

MY LORD, — There has, for a long time, subsisted great animosities between the inhabitants of the town and the troops; and, on the 2d and 3d of this month, there were repeated skirmishes between small parties of the inhabitants and the soldiers in the streets. The soldiers were without their arms, and one or two of them were much hurt. The 5th, in the evening, near ten o'clock, one of the bells of the town, near where I dwell, was rung; and I supposed it to be for fire: but, in a few moments, several of the inhabitants came running into my house, entreating me immediately to come out, or the town would be all in blood; the soldiers having killed a great number of the inhabitants, and the people, in general, being about to arm themselves. I went out, without delay, in order to go to the Council Chamber, — as the people were killed in King Street, near to it; but I was soon surrounded by a great body of men, — many of them armed with clubs, and some with cutlasses, and all calling for their fire-arms. I discovered myself to them, and endeavored to prevail on them to hear me: but was soon obliged, for my own safety, to go into a house, and by a private way into King Street; the people having returned there, expecting me. After assuring them that a due inquiry should be made, and justice done, so far as was in my power, and prevailing with the commanding officer of the troops in the street to retire with them to their barracks, the people dispersed. Expresses had gone out to the neighboring towns, and the inhabitants were called out of their beds, many of whom armed themselves, but were stopped from coming into town by advice, that there was no further danger that night. A barrel of tar, which was carrying to the Beacon to be set on fire, was also sent back. Upon examination before two justices of the peace, Captain Preston of the twenty-ninth, who had command of the guard, was committed to prison, being charged with ordering the troops to fire; and seven or eight privates charged with firing. Four persons were killed; two more are said to be mortally wounded; divers others wounded, but not in such danger: among them is a gentleman of the town, who, standing at his door,

was shot in the arm, and the bone splintered. How far the affronts and abuses offered by the inhabitants may avail to excuse this action, is uncertain: but it is certain that nothing more unfortunate could have happened; for a very great part of the people are in a perfect frenzy by means of it.

I summoned all the members of the Council who were near enough, to meet the next morning. When I came to them, I found the selectmen of the town, and great part of the justices of the county, waiting for me at the Council Chamber, to represent to me their opinion of the absolute necessity of the troops being at a distance, that there might be no intercourse between the inhabitants and them, in order to prevent a further effusion of blood. The selectmen acquainted me they had been applied to to call a town-meeting, and that the inhabitants would be under no restraint whilst the troops were in the town. I let them know that I had no power to remove the troops. I then sent to desire Colonel Dalrymple and Colonel Carr to be present in Council. Soon after, a message came by a large committee from the town to me, being in Council. I told the Council also that the removal of the troops was not with me; and I desired them to consider what answer I could give to this application of the town, whilst Colonel Dalrymple, who had the command, was present. The principal quarrels had been with the twenty-ninth regiment; and, upon hearing from the Council what they had to urge, Colonel Dalrymple let me know that he was willing the twenty-ninth should go into the barracks at the castle, and engaged that the fourteenth should be so disposed in Boston as to prevent occasions of dispute between the inhabitants and the regiment. I thereupon signified to the committee of the town what Colonel Dalrymple had agreed to; repeating to them also what I had said to the selectmen, — that the ordering the troops did not lie with me. Upon report made to the town, they, by a general vote, declared they could not be satisfied unless both regiments were at the castle. I met the Council again in the afternoon; when the commanding officers of both regiments, and also Captain Caldwell of his Majesty's ship "Rose," were present. I would have desired some other Crown-officers to have been there; but I knew the Council would not consent to it. The town soon sent a second committee to me with their vote; which I required the Council to give me their advice upon. They advised me to desire Colonel Dalrymple to remove the fourteenth regiment also to the barracks at the castle; and, with one voice, most earnestly urged it upon me: and every one of

them deliberately gave his opinion at large, and generally gave this reason to support it, — that the people would most certainly drive out the troops, and that the inhabitants of other towns would join in it; and several of the gentlemen declared, that they did not judge from the general temper of the people only, but they knew it to be the determination, not of a mob, but of the generality of the principal inhabitants; and they added, that all the blood would be charged to me alone, for refusing to follow their unanimous advice, — in desiring that the quarters of a single regiment might be changed, in order to put an end to the animosities between the troops and the inhabitants, seeing Colonel Dalrymple would consent to it.

It now lay upon me to choose that side which had the fewest and least difficulties; and I weighed and compared them as well as the time I had for it would permit. I knew it was most regular for me to leave this matter entire to the commanding officer. I was sensible the troops were designed to be, upon occasion, employed under the direction of the civil magistrate; and that, at the castle, they would be too remote, in most cases, to answer that purpose. But then I considered they never had been used for that purpose; and there was no probability they ever would be, because no civil magistrate could be found under whose directions they might act: and they could be considered only as having a tendency to keep the inhabitants in some degree of awe; and even this was every day lessening; and the affronts the troops received were such, that there was no avoiding quarrels and slaughter. I thought not improbable, but I was not so sanguine as all the Council and the generality of the inhabitants were, that an open attack would be made on the troops; or, if there had been, that they could soon have been overpowered: but there was a moral certainty that the people of this town would have taken to their arms, and that the neighboring towns would have joined them, which would have brought on infinite confusion, and, if any violence had been begun, much bloodshed, the spirit being full as high now, as far as can be judged, as it was at the time of the Revolution, and the people four times as numerous. And it was most probable the confusion would have continued until the troops were overpowered; for Colonel Dalrymple assures me, that, in both regiments, he could not muster six hundred effective men at that time, nor have been able to have brought above four hundred together at one place.

Before I determined, I asked the opinion of the three officers of the Crown who were present, and of the Secretary; and they all

agreed, that I ought to comply with it; and I find since, that the commissioners of the customs, who are not affected by it, think I could not avoid it.

Upon my complying with this advice of Council, I acquainted the committee of the town with it; and Colonel Dalrymple promised them to send both regiments to the barracks at the castle.

Both Colonel Dalrymple and I wrote the next morning by express to General Gage. Copies of my letters I shall enclose to your lordship.

I have represented to your lordship, that the authority of Government is gone in all matters wherein the controversy between the kingdom and the colonies is concerned. There cannot be a plainer proof of it than I have now given to your lordship. The king, by his general, orders a part of his troops to be posted in Boston. The people oppose it, and declare they will, by force, compel these troops to leave the place where they are posted; which, if executed, would be levying war against the king, and one species of high treason. The greater proportion, by far, of the members of every branch of the Legislature or Executive power join in supporting the people in this. The few which remain are obliged to submit, and, unless the troops are, capable of maintaining their post by their own strength.

In the present case, every member of the Council, the justices of peace of Boston, and divers of other towns, every selectman of Boston, all the representatives of the town who were in town, the colonel of the Boston regiment, besides other officers and principal inhabitants of the town, and then the town in a body, when two or three thousand were present, made their application to me to effect the removal of the troops; and the temper was spreading for the next day. Application was made to me from the town of Roxbury; and although a great proportion of those who joined in the application made for the removal of the troops would not have dared to join in open opposition to them, yet I knew of none who would have joined in defending them.

I have been very far from exaggerating facts ever since I have had the honor of transmitting accounts of them to your lordship: but I should be culpable if I should omit communicating the true state of the Province; and I am sure, in the present instance, no exception can be taken here at what I have stated, because men of every order have, in the most open and strong manner, declared to me, that, at all events, the people are determined the troops, at all events, should leave the town.

The President said that his attention had recently been called to a letter of Charles II., which had long been preserved in the Winthrop Family, and which was the subject of a considerable note in Mr. Savage's last edition of the "History of New England," vol. i. p. 150.

The letter is as follows : —

BRUSSELLES, 8 April, 1660.

I haue so good information of the many good offices you haue done for me, that I cannot doute but you will continue the same affection, till you have perfected the worke you haue begun, which you may be most assured will be accompanied with such an acknowledgement from me that all the world shall take notice of the sence I haue of your kindnesse, and how greate an instrument you haue been in promoting the happynesse of your country : I haue no more to aske of you but to proceede in the same way and methode your owne vnderstanding suggests to you, and that you will beleuee I will alwayes be,

Your affectionate frinde

CHARLES R.

It is wholly in the handwriting of the king, and is sealed with the royal arms. But it is evident that there never was any superscription or address of any sort upon it ; and it is only a matter of tradition that it was addressed to a member of the Winthrop Family. It has generally been said to have been written to John Winthrop, jun., Governor of Connecticut : but he had not been in England for fifteen years before it was written, nor did he go there again until two years after it was written ; and there was nothing which he had done on this side of the water which could have entitled him to such an expression of royal gratitude and confidence. His brother Stephen, who served in the Parliament armies, as well as in one of the Protector's Parliaments, had died a year before the letter was written. Only one of the family remains as the possible recipient of this epistle ; and this is Fitz John Winthrop, the son of the Governor of Connecticut, who succeeded his father in that office, after no very long interval.

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At the time this letter was written, Fitz John was a captain in his uncle Colonel Thomas Reade's regiment of foot, under General Monk. He had received his first commission as lieutenant in that regiment from Richard Cromwell, the Protector, dated 11th September, 1658. A second commission to be "captain-lieutenant" in the same regiment is signed at Coldstreame by George Monk, 21st December, 1659. A third commission, making him full captain in the same regiment, is signed 5th February, 1659, also by Monk. Still a fourth commission is found, making him a captain in the same regiment, signed by Monk, then Sir George Monk, General and Commander-in-chief, on the 23d of June, 1660, after the Restoration had been accomplished. And, finally, a certificate is found, bearing date 14th January, 1661, and signed by Monk as Duke of Albemarle, and by Lord Anglesey and Sir Edward Nicholas, allowing Captain Fitz John Winthrop to pass to London, and remain there for three months; although the officers who had served in the Parliament armies were forbidden to go there at all, on the ground that he "hath faithfully served his Ma^y, & did correspond & joyned with the said Duke of Albemarle in his most happy restoration."

It is plain from these facts, that the letter of Charles must have come into the possession of the family through Fitz John Winthrop; yet there may well be a doubt whether it was ever specially sent to him, or intended for him by the king.

Fitz John was born 14th March, 1638. He was thus less than twenty years of age when he received his first commission, and not much over twenty-one at the date of the Restoration. He went over to England to his mother's brother, Colonel Reade; and was probably glad to take service under his patronage, wherever that service might lead him.

It is quite unlikely, that, at so early an age, he could have done any thing to entitle himself to such a notice from the king; and certain it is, that he never received any such particu-

lar mark of the royal favor, as the letter promised, in after-years.

The whole mystery of the letter (if there be one) is unlocked by the following passage from Burnet's "History of his own Times" (vol. i. book i. p. 124, Edin. ed.), where, in giving a summary of affairs before the Restoration, Bishop Burnet says, that, while the king was in Holland, "Hide (afterwards Lord Chancellor Clarendon) was very busy. He wrote in the king's name to all the leading men in England, and *got the king to write a great many letters in a very obliging manner.*"

Hyde, it seems from Burnet, afterwards sent over Dr. Morley on a secret mission to England, and probably gave him a number of these "obliging letters," which he "had got the king to write," already signed and sealed with the royal signet, to be addressed and delivered as occasion should render expedient.

One of these letters may be seen in Burke's "Visitation of Seats and Arms" (vol. ii. p. 181), said to have been written to Sir John Rous, and the language of which bears the closest analogy to that which came into the possession of the Winthrops.

Another of these letters may be seen in Thane's "British Autography" (vol. ii. p. 42), addressed, as it is said, to Arthur Annesly, Esq. (afterwards Earl of Anglesey), and which was plainly the result of the same inspiration with the other two.

The Winthrop Letter is rather more complimentary and cordial than either of them, and would have been worthy (as Mr. Savage has suggested) of being addressed to Monk himself. Now, among the Winthrop family-portraits at New York, there is an original portrait of General Monk, which would seem to imply that some peculiar friendship had existed between him and some one of the Winthrop connection. Probably this letter may have come into the possession of the family from the same source and at the same time with that portrait.

The letter may have been originally sent to Colonel Thomas Reade, the uncle of Fitz John, and the commander of his regiment; or perhaps to Sir George Downing, who also served the cause of the Restoration, and who was the great-uncle of Captain Fitz John Winthrop.

The main historical facts of the case are, that the letter was addressed to no one; that there was no one of the name of Winthrop who seems to have been in a condition to have done enough to call forth such an expression of royal favor; that the king, at the instigation of Clarendon, wrote a great many obliging letters, — probably leaving others to decide to whom many of them should be sent; and that Fitz John Winthrop, who was then serving under Monk as a very young man, was in the way of procuring such an autograph, either through Colonel Reade, Sir George Downing, or General Monk himself.

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